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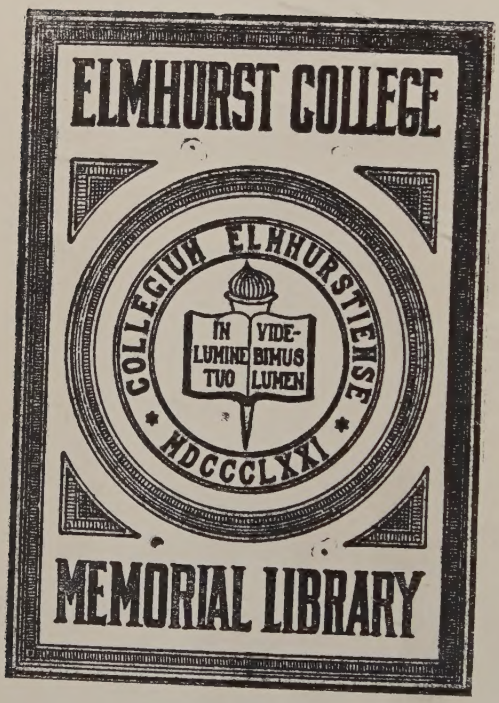
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THE FALL OF NAPOLEON

THE FALL OF NAPOLEON

BY OSCAR BROWNING M.A.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

1466

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TO

ADOLPHUS W. WARD

MASTER OF PETERHOUSE

HISTORIAN, MAN OF LETTERS

EDUCATOR, FRIEND

THIS BOOK IS

DEDICATED

ADVERTISEMENT

THIS book is not intended to be a history of Europe between the years 1813 and 1815. It is a personal history of Napoleon during that period, and European affairs are only introduced so far as they are necessary for clearness. A vast amount of Napoleonic literature has been published during the last ten or fifteen years, and with the greater part of that literature the present writer claims to be acquainted. The result of this has been not only to bring to light many facts which were previously unknown, but to modify in many respects the judgments passed upon Napoleon's actions by competent historians. For instance, no action of Napoleon has been more universally condemned than his refusal to accept terms of peace during the armistice of 1813, but the analysis of the policy of Metternich made by M. Albert Sorel in his last published volume has shown that it would have been impossible for Napoleon to have acted otherwise. It is believed that the result of these researches now finds place for the first time in an English book, and the view of Napoleon's character and conduct, which is rather indicated in these pages than positively stated, is different to that generally held by English historians. For reasons which have been thought sufficient, the pages of this book have not been burdened

by foot-notes or references, but a list of the chief authorities has been placed at the end of each chapter, and a bibliography of the works consulted has been added. It should be mentioned that the campaign of 1813 has been studied by the present writer minutely on the spot. The important period between the battle of Waterloo and the embarkation of Napoleon on the Northumberland has been treated with a fullness which recent investigation has made possible, but the deliberations of the English Cabinet during this momentous interval still await complete elucidation. The writer desires to express his warm thanks to Mr. Clement Shorter and to Mr. A. M. Broadley for their kind encouragement and assistance in preparing this volume.

OSCAR BROWNING.

March, 1907.

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THE FALL OF NAPOLEON

CHAPTER I

THE RETURN FROM RUSSIA—THE CONCORDAT OF FONTAINEBLEAU—THE DEFECTION OF PRUSSIA

NAPOLEON arrived at the Tuileries from his disastrous campaign in Russia at midnight on December 18, 1812. On the following day he received his ministers and the nobles of his Court with dignity and pride. He acknowledged that he had suffered greatly in the war, but he complained that he had met with exceptionally bad weather. If the French army had been punished, the Russian army had been punished more severely. He praised the steadfastness of his generals, especially that of Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave." But he laid the greatest stress on the conspiracy of Malet, which had broken out in his absence, and which was, to a large extent, the cause of his return. If they really believed that he was dead, why did they not hasten to the Empress and the King of Rome, who were their legitimate sovereigns? At this, all looked towards Savary, the Minister of Police, who was completely unaware of the conspiracy, and who had allowed himself to be surprised. Savary defended himself

with courage and boldness, and the Emperor continued to show him favour. He then received Cambacérès, the hereditary Chancellor of the Empire. He asked him what he thought of the catastrophe in Russia, and whether he was not surprised at it. He admitted that he was greatly surprised. Notwithstanding the well-known uncertainties of war, he had never anticipated such a disaster. Napoleon threw the blame on the elements, the sudden and extraordinary cold, and the barbarity of Alexander in burning his own towns. He thanked the Chancellor for the zeal which he had displayed in the conduct of the government, and said that his only want was that of brave soldiers to defend the fatherland. He spoke of the personal dangers which he had gone through, and those which he still had to meet, the necessity of securing the succession of his son to the throne, and of the advantage there would be in crowning the King of Rome at once, for which there were historical precedents. A pageant of this kind would impress the imagination of the public, and teach the State officials their duty. Only one victim was punished for the conspiracy of Malet, Frochot, the Prefect of the Seine. He was arraigned before the Conseil d'État.

On December 20, two days after his arrival, the Emperor received the high bodies of the State. It was an impressive spectacle, accompanied with speeches and counter-speeches, calculated to divert attention from the Russian disaster. Lacépède, President of the Senate, congratulated France on the return of Napoleon, because his absence was a national misfortune. He supported the idea of crowning the King of Rome and taking an oath of allegiance to him. Napoleon delivered his answer seated on his throne. He said that his first duty was to give France peace, and to provide for her internal security. Frochot was found guilty, not of high treason, but of want of judgment and presence of mind, and deprived of his post.

Napoleon now attempted to give substance to his

promises by making a permanent settlement with the Pope. Pius VII, after having been kept a prisoner for some time at Savona, had been, by the orders of Napoleon issued from the centre of Poland, brought to Fontainebleau, where he was treated with great respect, and lodged in the same apartment which he had occupied before the coronation of Napoleon. Immediately on his arrival at Paris Napoleon wrote to him, and expressed his joy at his being in good health, his deep respect for him and his office, and his desire to arrange the difficulties between State and Church. On January 1, 1813, the Emperor sent a chamberlain to the Pope with his congratulations. Cardinal Doria brought the answer, and shortly afterwards Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes, was sent to Fontainebleau to open negotiations. On January 19, 1813, the Pope was suddenly informed that the Emperor and Empress were come to pay him a visit. Napoleon, whom he had not seen since the coronation, embraced him and called him by the name of Father. The negotiations then began. One of the first questions to be settled was the place of the Pope's residence. Napoleon would have wished the Holy Father to reside in Paris or at St. Denis, so as to make France the capital of Catholic Christendom. The Pope refused to consider any other alternatives except Rome or Avignon. This matter was the subject of long discussion. Napoleon used all the fascination of his genius to induce the Pope to surrender Rome, but Pius held to his oath to sacrifice no right belonging to the Church. Napoleon pointed out that the temporal power was an anachronism, that a great revolution had taken place; he, a Corsican, was master of Europe, the Bourbons ruled neither in France, nor in Spain, nor in Italy. If only the two mighty forces of Church and State could be joined together they might command the world. He promised to do more for the Church than Charles the Great had ever done. The result of several days' dis-

cussion was the conclusion of certain articles as a basis of future agreement. The Pope declared that these articles were only intended as preliminaries, and were to be kept secret until they had been ratified by the College of Cardinals. Napoleon left Fontainebleau on January 25, 1813, and sent his secretary to put the articles into form. It is remarkable that the question as to whether the seat of the Papacy should be Rome or Avignon was left entirely undecided, but Napoleon intended that the Pope should reside at Avignon.

The Concordat of Fontainebleau, dated January 25, 1813, consisted of eleven Articles, which provided that the Pope is to have the same dignity in France and the kingdom of Italy to which he has been hitherto accustomed, and that his ambassadors and envoys are to have the same privileges as the emissaries of other Courts. The domains which the Holy Father has in his possession are to be held by him without impost, and to be administered by his agents. He is to receive a sum of 2,000,000 francs as a compensation for those which have been sold. Bishops and Archbishops nominated by the Emperor are to be instituted by the Pope within six months. If this is not done, the institution is to be made by the metropolitan, or, failing him, by the oldest bishop in the diocese, so that no see can be vacant more than a year. The Pope is to nominate ten bishops either in France or the kingdom of Italy, to be specified later on. The six suburbicarian bishops (those whose sees are in the neighbourhood of Rome) are to be restored, and are to be nominated by the Pope. They are to keep their present possessions, but Anagni and Rieti are eventually to be joined. Bishops of the Papal States at present absent from their dioceses may be made bishops *in partibus*. They are to be on the same footing as other bishops. Bishoprics in the Genoese and Tuscan territories are to be gradually diminished by mutual agreement. The Propaganda, the Chief Peniten-

tiary, and the Archives are to accompany the Pope wherever he may be. All cardinals, bishops, priests and laymen who have incurred the displeasure of Napoleon are to be received again into favour. Finally, these arrangements are made in consideration of the present condition of the Church and in confidence that the Catholic religion will receive the protection of Napoleon. Cardinal Pacca was at this time a prisoner in Fenestrelles, but he was suddenly released, and reached Fontainebleau on February 17. He found the Pope pale, worn, and bent, and much distressed at the disgrace which he had been compelled to undergo. He said, "These cardinals compelled me to go to the table and sign." Napoleon gave handsome presents to the cardinals who had brought about the arrangement, ordered a Te Deum to be sung in all churches to commemorate the peace between the Church and the Empire, and published the Concordat in the *Moniteur*, although Pius declared that it ought to have been kept secret. The Articles were afterwards brought by Cambacérès before the Sénat-Conservateur, and declared laws of the empire, although the first idea of Napoleon had been that they should not be published.

In the meantime the resistance to Napoleon was growing in other parts of Europe. Alexander of Russia, his great antagonist, was at this time accompanied by Baron Stein, to whom as much as to any one the rising of the German nation is to be ascribed. Although Russia was determined to avenge the insult which had been cast upon her, yet it was not easy to determine precisely what her action should be. There were three parties at the Russian Court. Kutusov, who received the chief credit for the defeat of the French, was old and weak, and was anxious to remain in Wilna and to await events, leaving the Germans for the present to deal with the French. Some wished to join the Germans, in order to drive the French over the Rhine, others wished to unite the whole of

Poland with Russia, but not to cross the Vistula. Stein opposed this aggrandizement of Russia, and laboured to secure for Germany her old frontiers of the Vosges and the Meuse. In a memoir dated November 17, 1812, he called on Alexander to act as the liberator of Germany. The suggestion fired the imagination of the Tsar, and he determined to undertake the task. He left St. Petersburg, and reached Wilna in the middle of December, where he greeted Kutusov as the saviour of his country. At this time Stein's scheme for the settlement of Germany was a partition between Austria and Prussia. Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Baden were to be confined to the territories which they had before 1802, to preserve their right of embassy, but to be considered as vassals of Austria. A kingdom of South Germany was to be created under the suzerainty of Austria. There was also to be a kingdom of North Germany, upon which Hanover, Hesse, and Brunswick were to be dependent. Switzerland was to enter into a federation with Austria.

Just at this moment the news flashed like lightning through Prussia and Germany that General York, who commanded a Prussian corps of 30,000 men, had separated himself from his commander, the French Marshal Macdonald. After the battle of Beresina, Wittgenstein, who commanded a Russian corps of 30,000 men, had been entrusted with the task of cutting off Macdonald, who was now in Kurland. Two-thirds of Macdonald's division consisted of Prussians. York, who was commanding the vanguard, determined to enter into negotiations with the Russian general, Diebich, who had been detailed to cut him off. York had endeavoured to obtain instructions from the King, but Frederick William was not prepared for so sudden a change of policy. Scharnhorst, who was the bitterest enemy of the French, had left the Ministry and was living in Silesia. Hardenberg tried to steer between Scylla and Charybdis. York was therefore

obliged to act on his own responsibility. He contrived to have an interview with Diebich on Christmas Day, 1812, in which Diebich declared that he was prepared to enter into a convention of neutrality. After some delay York and Diebich met at the Mill of Poscherun on December 30, 1812, and made a convention generally known as the Convention of Tauroggen, by which the Prussian contingent was declared neutral, and a neutral territory assigned to it on the Russian frontiers, in Prussian Lithuania. It was agreed that if the convention was not ratified by the two sovereigns of Russia and Prussia, the Prussian troops should be allowed to retire by the shortest route, but were under the obligation not to fight against the Russians for two months. Massenbach, who was in Tilsit with six battalions of Prussians, was ordered by York to retire from that town. The soldiers were delighted at the step which York had taken. York wrote his justification to the King from Tilsit on January 3, 1813, saying that now or never is the moment to recover freedom, independence, and power, without great sacrifices, and that the fate of the world lay in the decision of the King.

There can be no doubt that the step taken by York contributed largely to the liberation of Germany. His name flew like a bale fire from Memel to the Rhine. As he advanced against Königsberg, where Murat was in command, the French retired before him. They reached the Vistula in the middle of January, 1813, Ney taking charge of the rearguard. The next stand was made in Danzig, where General Rapp commanded 25,000 soldiers. There were also 10,000 in the fortress of Thorn. There were 18,000 French in Berlin under the command of Augereau. Pillau was garrisoned by Germans, who surrendered to the Russians, thus opening to English trade the passage into the Frische Haff. The King of Naples now retired and was succeeded by Prince Eugène, who

reluctantly assumed the command, and remained in Posen at the head of 10,000 men. When York marched into Königsberg at the head of his troops, he was accompanied by Stein, who on January 6, 1813, had been empowered by Alexander to offer Prussia assistance in the fullest measure for the liberation of Germany. Frederick William III was in a great difficulty because he was in alliance with France, and yet one of his generals had made an alliance with Russia. As we have said, Augereau was in command of an army corps in Berlin, where fighting took place daily in the streets. The King went so far as to say to the French Ambassador, Saint Marsan, that he would openly disavow the conduct of York, and summon him before a court-martial; but he first retired to Breslau, in order that he might act with more freedom. France at the time claimed from Prussia a war debt of 48,000,000 francs, but Prussia had supplied provisions to the French army to the value of 94,000,000, so that there was a balance on the side of Prussia of 46,000,000. The King demanded the payment of this, and also the restitution of the fortresses of Stettin, Küstrin, and Glogau. He repeated his assurances of fidelity to France, but asked for money to maintain 120,000 troops. Hatzfeld was sent to Paris to disclaim the action of York, and to exact the fulfilment of the other conditions, saying that if these were not complied with, Prussia would feel herself free from every kind of obligation. Napoleon, however, delayed his reply.

Stein and Father Arndt, the founder of German gymnastic societies, were now in Königsberg. They summoned a landtag, or parliament, to meet in Königsberg, somewhat irregularly, for the right of doing this belonged to the King alone. On February 17, an ordinance appeared in the Berlin newspapers, announcing that York was deprived of his command, and that Kleist was put in his place, his troops being added to the forces of Murat.

But York refused to obey, and Kleist declined to supersede him. He depended on the previous decree of December 20, 1812, by which he was made Governor of Preussen and commander of the Prussian troops. He now issued a decree abolishing the continental blockade and opening foreign ports for free commerce. The result of this was to provide money for his troops. The merchants of Königsberg, Memel and Elbing contributed 500,000 thalers. Stein was the soul of the movement. The landtag met under the presidency of York, as representative of the King. It enacted a complete plan of national defence, an élite of 13,000 men, a Landwehr of 20,000 men, and a Landsturm of all males under sixty; also 7000 mounted volunteers, who should arm themselves and be a nursery for officers. These resolutions were confirmed by York on February 8. Arndt wrote a popular book explaining the organization of the Landwehr and the Landsturm, which, published in Königsberg, flew in thousands of editions throughout Germany.

Frederick William III reached Breslau on January 25, and assembled around him the best men of the country. Scharnhorst became Minister of War. Blücher came to the Court. On February 3 a decree was issued, which summoned to arms as volunteers the nobles who had hitherto been exempt. The King did not expect that it would have much effect. A few days afterwards, as he and Scharnhorst were standing at a window of the Schloss, they heard the noise of rolling wagons. It was a string of eighty carriages full of volunteers from Berlin. Scharnhorst asked the King if he were now convinced, and tears flowed from his eyes. In Berlin 9000 young men were enlisted in three days. The King had evidently made up his mind, but Napoleon still delayed his answer.

The King sent to Alexander, Knesebeck, who opposed Stein's policy, because he believed that Stein was working

with the Tsar to secure East and West Prussia for Russia. Knesebeck was well received. Alexander expressed a wish for the entire re-establishment of Prussia in the most flourishing condition. Stein insisted that either himself or Scharnhorst should be appointed to represent Prussia as plenipotentiaries. The King chose Scharnhorst. Stein had to hide himself in Breslau in a garret. At last the treaty of alliance was signed on February 27 at Breslau by Hardenberg and Anstett, and on February 28 at Kalisch by Scharnhorst and Kutusov. Its object was to liberate first Germany, and then Europe, and to place Prussia in the position which she had held before 1806. It repaired the humiliation of Tilsit. Alexander bound himself not to lay down arms until this object had been accomplished politically, geographically, and financially. The possessions of the House of Hanover were alone excepted from the convention. The different countries under Prussia were to form an independent monarchy. The Emperor was to provide 150,000 men, the King 80,000 troops of the line, not counting those employed in garrisons. Both monarchs were to act together and to do their best to persuade Austria to join them. The Tsar was to use his influence to get money and support for Prussia from England. The system of the Landwehr, first established in Königsberg, was now extended to the whole kingdom. The action of Prussia was certainly bold, as her own forces were not developed, and Russia had only 40,000 men between the Oder and the Elbe to oppose Napoleon backed by the united strength of France, Italy, and the Confederation of the Rhine. Stein, at a later period, looked back with wonder at her courage.

The Emperor Alexander entered Breslau on March 15, 1813. His first visit was to Stein, whom he affectionately embraced. Hearing that the rents from his estates were in arrears he made him a present of 80,000 thalers. Events proceeded rapidly. On March 4 the Russians

drove the French from Berlin, who retired to Magdeburg and Wittenberg. On March 14 the Duke of Mecklenburg joined the league. Gneisenau brought promises of help from England, with arms, provisions, and clothing for 20,000 men, and the promise of the possible landing of an Anglo-Swedish army. On March 16, 1813, the French Ambassador, Saint Marsan, received the Prussian declaration of war, and on the following day appeared the famous appeal of King Frederick William III to his people: "Brandenburgers, Prussians, Silesians, Pomeranians, Lithuanians, you know what you have suffered for the last seven years, you know what your miserable lot will be if the struggle, which now begins, does not end with honour. Remember the days of old, the Great Elector, the Great Frederick. Remember the advantages for which our forefathers shed their blood, freedom of conscience, honour, independence, commerce, art and science. Think of the good example of our powerful allies, the Russians, think of the Spaniards, the Portuguese. Even smaller nations have entered into a conflict with more powerful enemies for similar advantages, and have gained the victory. Remember the heroic struggles of the Dutch, and of the Swiss. Great sacrifices will be demanded from all classes, for our enterprise is great, and the number and resources of our enemies are by no means small."

Authorities.—It is not desirable in a work of this kind either to give a complete bibliography of sources, or indicate at the foot of the page the authority on which each statement rests. The subject of the Fall of Napoleon has occupied the writer's attention for more years than he cares to remember, and there are few important books on the subject which have not passed through his hands. As special authorities for chapter I may be mentioned *The Moniteur*, the Napoleon Correspondence, Seeley's *Life of Stein*, Droysen's *Life of York*, and the Memoirs of Cardinal Pacca.

CHAPTER II

THE POLICY OF AUSTRIA—THE PREPARATIONS OF NAPOLEON

AFTER the union between Russia and Prussia had been accomplished, the question arose as to what attitude would be assumed by Austria. The decision depended upon the determination of the Emperor Francis, father of Marie Louise, and father-in-law of Napoleon and of his Chancellor, Prince Clement Wenceslaus Metternich, who played so important a part in the reconstruction and government of Europe after the fall of Napoleon. In the year 1810 Metternich had been sent to Paris in order to penetrate, if possible, the designs of Napoleon and to decide upon the attitude of Austria. He reported to his master that 1811 would be a year of peace, but that 1812 would see the expedition to Russia, which actually followed. Therefore the attitude of Austria must be that of an armed neutrality. If war broke out between France and Russia, Austria would hold a flanking position, and exercise a preponderating influence at the close of the conflict. The Emperor and his minister prepared themselves in all secrecy for this eventuality. The only person taken into their confidence was Count Bellegarde, President of the Council of War. Napoleon had requested an auxiliary corps of 30,000 Austrian troops for his Russian expedition, but the Court of Vienna maintained its position of armed neutrality. After Napoleon's catastrophe, Stein and the Russian

Cabinet made overtures to Austria to declare war against France, but they received the answer that Austria was determined not to be deflected from the course which it had chosen, nor to alter its policy for the present. They had up to the present moment preserved an attitude of armed neutrality. This might be changed in the light of new events to an attitude of armed mediation. It now indeed became necessary that Austria should arm, it being certain that Napoleon would open a campaign in Germany in 1813. This arming was proceeded with secretly, and Prince Charles Schwarzenberg was made Commander-in-Chief.

In the meantime Count Bubna was sent as ambassador to Paris. Napoleon said to him: "Well! here we are again. You were a little put out by the negotiations at Schönbrunn. But what does that matter? Do you think that Metternich will hold firm?" "I have not a doubt of it." "But how about the women—the Empress?" "You must have a very false idea of my master, the Emperor, if you imagine that women can have any influence over his policy." "Is Prince Lichtenstein cold towards France? Does Count Wallis wish for war? What about Trautmannsdorf? Has Bellegarde become Russian?" "Your Majesty, we are all Austrians first, and after that any one may be whatever he likes." Napoleon remarked, "I will on this occasion give the Emperor of Austria a splendid part to play, having so often treated him badly." Marie Louise wrote letters to her father assuring him of the good-will of Napoleon, but it is possible that they were written under the personal influence of her imperial husband.

In the meantime Napoleon continued to work with astonishing energy. He expected to have a new army of 500,000 men in the field. He had doubts of Murat's absolute loyalty, and talked of arresting him. Still he gave no outward sign of his displeasure. He had reason

to be satisfied that his place was taken by Prince Eugène, whom he ordered to keep a tight hold on the fortresses of the Oder and the Elbe. In three weeks he sent him reinforcements of 60,000 men. Francis continued to write affectionate letters to his son-in-law. Bubna was ordered to propose that Austria should continue faithful to the French Alliance, provided that the peace, which Europe required above everything else, could be secured. Napoleon despatched Narbonne as ambassador to Vienna, who he thought would be a more acceptable plenipotentiary than Otto.

Napoleon's chief deficiency at this time was cavalry, which had been entirely destroyed in the Russian campaign. But he was able in a comparatively short time to despatch a force of 6000 cavalry to Germany. He made efforts to secure the allegiance of the Poles, saying to them that if they could not be Poles, the next best thing was to be French. A hundred and forty thousand conscripts were anticipated from the levée of 1814, and those who had been exempted in the years 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, were called under arms.

Napoleon now took the step of consulting the foremost men of his kingdom as to the policy which he should pursue. They all urged the necessity of peace—Caulaincourt, Talleyrand, Cambacérès, Savary, Mollien. Murat alone counselled a continuance of the struggle. Napoleon, however, was determined not to make peace until the honour of France had been avenged. He said the French nation must not surrender her glory and her power. He explained that he had taken measures for raising 350,000 men, which, with the conscription of 1813, would make up his number to 500,000. At the same time efforts towards peace were to be made. But how? Caulaincourt was in favour of a direct communication with Russia, and he was supported by Cambacérès. Maret, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was in favour of asking the mediation of Austria,

and he was supported by Champagny, Hauterive, Besnadière. This gave a majority for the mediation of Austria. But what terms should they offer? There was no doubt as to the terms which Austria would be compelled to ask: the dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine, the independence of Prussia, the dissolution of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and the surrender of Illyria and Tyrol. But it was not likely that Napoleon would grant these terms. At the same time he was anxious for peace. Not being able with dignity to offer peace himself, he accepted the mediation of Austria, and consented to Austria sending plenipotentiaries to the English. He told the Emperor Francis that he would not now lay down the conditions of peace, but that he would never consent to alienate from the Imperial crown what had been declared constitutional territory by the Senate. Rome, Piedmont, Tuscany, Holland, and the Hanseatic Departments must remain integral parts of the French Empire, never to be severed from it. Rome and Hamburg must remain French prefectures. He might consent to an aggrandisement of Prussia, but he never would allow any territorial increase of Russia.

Such were Napoleon's views. But how was it possible that with such conditions Austria could persuade Russia and Prussia to make peace, or bring about a settlement between France and England? At the same time Maret wrote to Vienna in a still haughtier tone. The French army would reach the number of 1,200,000 men: many states hitherto spared would be blotted from the face of Europe. Shortly would follow the coronation of the King of Rome and the investment of Marie Louise with the Regency.

Napoleon at length gave to Prussia the answer for which she was waiting. He said that he had no objection to the King retiring to Breslau, but that he could not allow him to enter into direct negotiations with Russia, or to consent to the neutrality of Silesia, which Russia

was certain to ask for. He contested the existence of the French debt, and refused to surrender the fortresses on the Vistula and the Oder. If Prussia was really his ally she could not object to seeing these fortresses in his possession; on the other hand, if Prussia was false, it would be madness to give them up.

It is a remarkable sign of the popularity of Napoleon's government at this time that a large force of the cavalry which he so much needed was raised by voluntary contribution. Of the 20,000 men asked for, Paris offered 500, Lyons 120, Strasburg 100, Bordeaux 80, Nantes 50, Angers 45, Amiens, Marseilles, and Toulouse 50 each, Metz, Rennes, and Mainz 25 each. Smaller towns offered three, four, or five horsemen, some one only. Nor was this generosity confined to France. Rome gave 140, Hamburg and Amsterdam 100 each, Genoa 80, Rotterdam 50, Leyden 25, Utrecht 20, Dusseldorf 12. When it was found impossible to obtain suitable horses, money was contributed instead, which was gratefully received by Napoleon. He had determined to impose no new taxes. Napoleon was an incomparable financier, as he was the greatest of all generals and nearly the greatest of all diplomatists. He had accumulated a large treasure in the vaults of the Tuileries, and this now stood him in good stead. He was very economical, but he could not be called stingy, as he conducted his Court with great splendour, spent large sums on public buildings in Paris, was always ready to contribute munificently to objects of science and art. He may be regarded as one of the ablest financiers whom history can record.

In collecting the remains of the army defeated in Russia he was well seconded by Kellermann, Duke of Valmy, who had commanded over the Rhine provinces from Strasburg to Wesel. He sent a daily account of his operations to Napoleon. He assembled all the soldiers who returned over the Rhine, generally by Mainz, saw

with his own eyes to their necessities, provided them with shoes and clothes, with arms and officers. The world was astonished to see a numerous and well-equipped army called into existence from nothing. Pompeius said in ancient Rome that he had merely to stamp with his foot and soldiers would rise out of the soil. Napoleon and Kellermann realized this boast.

Napoleon opened the Corps Législatif on February 14, 1813, in person. He addressed the deputies in a tone of stubborn pride. He spoke of the Concordat which he had concluded with the Pope. He said that the French dynasty still ruled over Spain and would continue to rule there. That he was content with all his allies, that he wished for peace, but would consent to no peace that was not honourable and consistent with the interests and fortunes of the Empire. He praised the Americans for having declared war against England in defence of the principles of freedom of commerce. The speech was naturally received with great enthusiasm.

The result of this uncompromising attitude was that Prussia and Russia signed the Treaty of Kalisch on February 28, and promised to continue the war until French prepotency was broken, and on March 16 Prussia handed a declaration of war to the French Ambassador. Colonels Tettenborn and Chernichev, with a force of about ten thousand Cossacks and some light infantry, attacked Lübeck. Soon afterwards Hamburg was evacuated by General Carra St. Cyr, much to the indignation of Napoleon. A Hamburg legion was formed out of the citizens, ships came into the harbour, and the English found a market for their coffee, sugar, and cotton. Owing to the approach of Wittgenstein, Prince Eugène was forced to evacuate Berlin, and Napoleon gave him orders to retire behind the Elbe and not to trouble himself about the centre of Germany, Dresden, Fulda, Erfurt, Mainz, but to cover at all hazards the northern towns, Magdeburg,

Hanover, Osnabrück, and Wesel. In this way he would protect the greater part of the course of the Elbe, including Hamburg and Bremen, as well as Holland and Westphalia. If the allies attacked by way of Dresden he could change his front, and stand with his left at Wittenberg and his right at Eisenach, having the Harz in his rear. Napoleon would then come himself with 180,000 through Hesse or Thuringia, and with the help of Eugène's forces cut off the allies from Berlin and the sea, chase them back to the Bohemian Mountains, capture Berlin, set free the French garrisons of Stettin, Küstrin, Glogau, Thorn, and Danzig, and in one month lead a victorious army to the banks of the Vistula.

Napoleon had completed all his arrangements, including an army of reserve, in three months. He had intended to have the King of Rome crowned in the winter, as well as to invest Marie Louise with the Regency. The first plan was given up on the ground of expense. The second was carried out with great pomp and ceremony on March 30, 1813. Cambacérès, the arch-chancellor, was given to her as principal adviser. Fouché was not allowed to remain in Paris.

A serious attempt was now made to induce Austria to join Prussia and Russia in the league against Napoleon. As we have already seen, the alliance of these two latter powers dates from February 28, and the declaration of war from March 16. On March 25 the two powers issued from Kalisch a common appeal to the German people announcing their object of setting Germany free from the foreign yoke. On April 7, Prince Schwarzenberg arrived as Austrian Ambassador in Paris. He was received with the greatest distinction. Napoleon assured him that he possessed in France, Germany, Italy, and Spain 1,100,000 or 1,200,000 troops, that he would crush the Russians and Prussians, and drive them across the Vistula, that Austria had a magnificent opportunity before her by taking the

NAPOLEON AT WORK WITH HIS SECRETARIES
(From an engraving in Mr. A. M. Broadley's collection)

French side. Schwarzenberg concluded from all this that Napoleon was determined to make war, and had no intention of peace. He then approached Maret, but found him blinded by admiration for the genius of Napoleon. When he spoke of the marriage with Marie Louise, Schwarzenberg answered that it was a mere political arrangement, a statement which came to Maret as a disagreeable shock. It was obvious that Napoleon would yield nothing. His intention was to gain a victory or two, and then to dictate peace on his own terms. But it was quite clear to the piercing vision of Napoleon that Metternich intended to join the alliance against him. It would have been far better for Austria, as well as more honourable, if she had remained true to the French alliance, which could alone secure her victory in the contest with Prussia. Attempts were made to persuade Frederick August, King of Saxony, who had fled from Dresden to Regensburg, to accept the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, and to join Austria as a mediating party. Similar offers were made to Bavaria, which was connected with Napoleon by marriage. Wessenberg was sent to London to endeavour to bring about a peace between France and England; and Lebzeltern with a similar mission to Alexander in Breslau: but neither had any result. Narbonne, on the other hand, who had succeeded Otto at Vienna, answered Metternich, that the design of the Emperor was to destroy Prussia entirely, to place Saxony in her place, and to give Silesia to Austria. Metternich repeated to Narbonne what he had already said to Otto, that Prussia was a better buffer than Poland between Russia and Germany, that the confederation of the Rhine could not be maintained, and that it was impossible that Hamburg, Lübeck, or Bremen should continue French. England would have to be consulted before anything could be determined with regard to Holland, Spain, and Italy. Austria would try to separate Russia from England, but Napoleon must be

prepared to make some sacrifices; all she asked for herself was the portion of Galicia which had been taken away in 1809, and the Illyrian provinces.

On April 9, Napoleon informed Austria, through Narbonne, that if she wished for peace she must be in a position to dictate it, that she must have 100,000 men ready to throw upon the flank of the allies, and that she must occupy Silesia, whilst Napoleon drove the Russians, Prussians, English, and Swedes across the Vistula. The result of this was that Austria renounced the treaty of March 14, 1812. Metternich told Narbonne that Austria would shortly send 150,000 men into Bohemia, in order to be able to fulfil her part of armed mediation; she would then urge the belligerents to agree to an armistice, as a preparation for a congress. This was a decided step towards joining the Alliance against Napoleon, because there was no likelihood of his agreeing to a congress, or of offering terms which the allies would even discuss. His suggestion that Austria should arm had been turned by Metternich into a weapon against him.

Authorities.—In describing the diplomacy of Europe in this and the succeeding chapters, I have followed the guidance of M. Albert Sorel, a friend of thirty years' standing, now, alas! lost to science. His great work on Europe and the French Revolution places him as an historian only second to Taine. The Metternich memoirs have been carefully studied, but they must be used with caution. The German History of the War, in a number of small volumes, is a sound authority, but written in a concentrated and unattractive style.

CHAPTER III

THE BATTLES OF LÜTZEN AND BAUTZEN—THE ARMISTICE—AUSTRIA DECLARES WAR

UNDER the conditions of the Treaty made with Napoleon after the defeat of Jena, Prussia was not allowed to have more than 42,000 men under arms at one time, but by the ingenuity of Scharnhorst the valid portion of the nation was passed successively under military training, so that the number of men capable of bearing arms could not be less than 150,000. The equipment necessary for this force was either already in existence or could be bought in Austria. A great deal of it was supplied from England. Field artillery was wanting, but that was gradually provided from the armaments of fortresses. The eight fortresses which the Prussians had been allowed to keep were carefully armed, and camps were formed in Colberg, Pillau, Neisse and Glatz. The contingent provided by Prussia for the Russian campaign was of the strength of 30,000 men, 10,000 of whom had perished in the enterprise. Under these circumstances Prussia, a short time after York's defection, was able to set in the field 110,000 men besides the reserves of the Landwehr and the Landsturm.

The advance began at the end of March. Blücher, starting from Silesia, crossed the Elbe with 35,000 men, preceded by General Winzingerode with 13,000 men. York, Wittgenstein and Bonstett were posted before

Magdeburg with a force of 25,000. They were supported by Russian detachments under Tettenborn, Dürenburg and Chernichev, to the number of 6000 or 7000. The principal Russian army, 30,000 strong, was at Kalisch. The French fortresses of Danzig, Thorn, Modlin, Zamocz, Stettin, Küstrin, Glogau and Spandau were besieged or blockaded. The allies could command about 70,000 men along the course of the Elbe from the Bohemian frontier to its mouth, but the only town which they possessed on the river was Dresden.

The French held Magdeburg with 50,000 men and also Wittenberg. Torgau was occupied by the King of Saxony. There was much discussion as to who should command the force. Kutusov died on the march on April 29, 1813. Wittgenstein was appointed in his place.

Napoleon had reached Mainz from Paris on April 17, and remained there till April 24. He arrived at Erfurt on April 25, and spent there three days of feverish activity. He drove to Weimar in a carriage and mounted his horse on April 28, came in the dusk of the evening to Eckhartsberga, and was busily engaged during the night. He did not enter his carriage again till the conclusion of the armistice. His army consisted of 150,000 infantry, 8000 cavalry and 300 guns. His young recruits developed with great rapidity. The enemy was superior in cavalry and artillery; they had 25,000 horse and 650 guns. The Russians may be reckoned as possessing 50,000 infantry, the Prussians 46,000. The chief weakness of Napoleon was his deficiency in cavalry. He was forced to form his young recruits into squares and to depend on their solidity, but they surpassed all expectation. Ney wrote of them, "These children are heroes. I can do with them anything that you command."

On April 19 Napoleon was able to give the following account of the disposition of his forces. Prince Eugène had his head-quarters at Bernburg, on the Saale, not far

from the point at which that river debouches into the Elbe. Davout was in front of Celle, Vandamme in the neighbourhood of Bremen. Also the fourth army corps, under Bertrand, was advancing on Coburg. Ney was close to Erfurt, Marmont at Gotha, Bessières and the guard at Eisenach. Once arrived at Erfurt Napoleon's object was to join Prince Eugène, to occupy the line of the Saale from Saalfeld to Bernburg, and to deliver Naumburg from the attack of the Cossacks. He also wished to recover Hamburg, and, finally, to get command of the course of the Elbe.

The first blood was drawn on April 29. On that day, at two in the afternoon, Souham engaged Lanskoi, who had 6000 infantry under his command, together with some cavalry and 12 pieces of cannon. Souham defeated him near Weissenfels and got possession of the town. The young levies, of which his army was composed, withstood the charges of the cavalry, and showed a spirit and enthusiasm which delighted the heart of the Emperor. Two hours later Macdonald occupied the town and bridge of Merseburg, which was defended by a small body of Prussians. The next day Napoleon could announce to Cambacérès that the junction between the army of the Main and the army of the Elbe was effected.

On April 30, Napoleon galloped through a heavy rain from Naumburg to Weissenfels, where he reconnoitred the scene of the previous battle, and passed the night in the town. The next day he left at nine in the morning for Lützen, telling Prince Eugène, who was at Merseburg, that if he heard the sound of artillery, he was to attack the enemy on the right. Unfortunately, this advance was accompanied by a serious loss. The first cannon-shot fired by the allies struck Marshal Bessières in the pit of the stomach, and he fell dead. Napoleon took care to let Marie Louise know that he was not in that part of the field where Bessières was struck. In the evening of the

first of May Ney's corps bivouacked in villages which have become famous, Gross and Klein Görschen, Kaja and Starsiedel, all in the neighbourhood of Lützen, and on the road from Weissenfels to Leipzig. Eugène was at Markrannstädt.

Wittgenstein now determined to attack the right wing of the French as they were on the march, and Napoleon, who did not expect to be engaged on May 2, nor in that position, had nearly reached Leipzig. Suddenly, about eleven o'clock he heard a loud cannonade in the rear of his right flank. Marshal Ney had been attacked with fury by the Prussians. Napoleon observed for some minutes, in silence, the smoke and the distant cannonade, and then ordered all his troops to change their line of march and to go back to Lützen. Ney, with his young recruits, defended his position bravely, while Napoleon hastened to his assistance. He met many wounded on the road, and few passed by without saluting him and crying, "Vive l'Empereur!" When he arrived at Kaja, Ney was on the point of yielding, and the battle seemed to be lost. Many of the French had been killed, and if the Prussians could have maintained their onslaught for half an hour longer the French line might have been broken. Napoleon remained almost the whole day behind Kaja with his Old Guard. He exposed himself with rashness; bullets fell whistling round him. At last, in a final advance, with a marvellous display of personal energy, he carried the position, and the battle was won.

At the close of the day the French were surrounding the allied forces in a half moon. It is said that the allies did not bring half their troops into action, whereas the French used their resources with the greatest ability. The battle cost the life of Scharnhorst, and Blücher was wounded in the arm, but did not leave the field. The battle, called Lützen by the French, and Gross-Görschen by the Prussians, was very murderous. The Prussians

lost at least 8000 men, the French possibly 15,000, although Napoleon only admitted the loss of 10,000. The battle, although a victory for the French, was not decisive; the losses of the Emperor had been too severe.

Napoleon pursued the enemy along the route to Dresden, passing by Pegau and Borna. He ordered Ney to enter Leipzig with pomp, and then to form an army at Wittenberg, with which he might march upon Berlin. Napoleon entered Dresden on May 8, but he found two arches of the well-known bridge blown up by Davout, an act of useless vandalism against which he had previously protested, and the opposite side of the river occupied by the Russians. The city was in profound tranquillity; by noon not a soldier of the allies was to be seen. The last of the Cossacks crossed the river on their horses by swimming. The Emperor Alexander had left the city in the middle of the night, and the King of Prussia in the morning.

The whole of May 9 was spent by Napoleon in establishing a bridge in the neighbourhood of Priestnitz, which was sturdily opposed by the Russians. The cannonade was very serious. Several bullets and hand-grenades fell near him, and a splinter of the powder magazine flew near his head. "If it had been my body it would have been all over," he said. A grenade fell between him and an Italian regiment, twenty paces in the rear. They shrunk a little to avoid it, when he cried, "Ah! cujoni, non fa male." At last he retired, just in time. He then proceeded to restore the old bridge, taking an active personal part in the operations. In twenty hours the work was completed, and on May 11, at 10 a.m., the whole army of Eugène, together with its artillery, was able to cross. Napoleon spent nearly the whole day on a stone seat, watching them. The King of Saxony entered Dresden with great pomp on May 12, bringing with him some regiments of cavalry, which were very useful to his ally. Napoleon's object at this time was

that Ney should release Glogau from siege, occupy Berlin, in order to allow Davout to recover Hamburg and to march into Pomerania, whilst he himself became master of Breslau. Count Bubna was present at Dresden as Austrian envoy, and Napoleon became gradually convinced of the treachery of Metternich. He therefore, by means of Caulaincourt, made overtures to Alexander with the object of making peace. He wrote to Francis on May 17 that he consented to the meeting of a congress, for the purpose of securing a general peace, that he would admit what he called the "Spanish insurgents" to it, and that he would treat without England, if the Powers desired it.

On May 18 Napoleon left Dresden to fight the battle of Bautzen. The heat was excessive and the dust stifling. Napoleon rode alone in front, absorbed in reflection. He passed the night at Harthau, and reached Klein-Förstchen, in front of Bautzen, the next day. Here the Russians and Prussians had collected a force variously estimated at 84,000 or 89,000 men. The battle began on May 20 about noon, and by five o'clock in the afternoon the fight became general. Marmont climbed the precipitous cliffs which separated the Wendish suburb from the town; Gérard drove back the Prince of Würtemberg. The battle lasted till nine in the evening, when Napoleon was able to take up his head-quarters in the town. He lodged in a house at the corner of the market-place, where his rooms are still shown, with the bay-window at which he stood in consultation with Marshal Ney. On May 21 the French army found itself on a line of several miles in length beyond Bautzen, in presence of the allies, who held a still more extended position in front of them. Napoleon's plan was to attack the allied left with Oudinot's troops, and to keep them employed until Ney had enveloped their right wing. When Ney had asserted his superiority on this side, Napoleon would fall upon their

centre and destroy them. Napoleon, awaiting the issue of Ney's operations, which were to decide the fate of the day, was lying on the ground eating his breakfast, when the shell of a howitzer burst over his head. He then went to a height in front of Nieder Kaina, that he might view things more closely, and it is said that from this point he sent off a messenger to Marie Louise to announce that he had gained a victory. But the hills, which formed the key of the position, had to be taken by the bayonet, after a struggle which lasted more than three hours, and a very serious loss was the result. The allies were defeated, but their retreat is considered a masterly performance. Napoleon suffered greatly from want of cavalry. From his chair on the hill of Nieder Kaina he sent infantry to cut off the enemy in their retreat, but a very small effect was produced. The battle was very murderous, and it is said that the French lost more than the allies.

Before we give an account of the armistice of Pleiswitz, so fatal to Napoleon, we must review the policy of Austria during the progress of the campaign. As early as the beginning of February, Metternich had made up his mind to take the side of the allies. This was to be effected by offering Napoleon terms which it was impossible for him to accept. The first terms suggested were that Illyria should be given to Austria, the Duchy of Warsaw to Prussia; the Confederation of the Rhine and the Hanse towns should be abandoned; while England would certainly demand the surrender of Holland and Spain. At the same time Austria withdrew her 30,000 troops which she had given to France by the treaty of March 14, 1812, although Metternich and the Emperor were assured by Narbonne that Napoleon considered them an integral part of his army. By the end of April the alliance between France and Austria was at an end.

It is difficult to define what was precisely the attitude of England at this time. The views of the ministry were

chiefly fixed on Holland. They cared little about the Duchy of Warsaw, the Confederation of the Rhine, or the reconstruction of Prussia and Austria. The Mediterranean was rendered secure by the fall of Joseph in Spain and of Murat in Naples. They occupied Portugal and Sicily, of which island Lord William Bentinck was the virtual sovereign. English commerce was expanding on every side. Wessenberg, sent from Vienna, could not persuade Castlereagh to accept the Austrian mediation. Jacobi the Prussian found a better reception. Prussia was ready to join Russia in an alliance with England, and mention was made of a new kingdom stretching from the Elbe to the Scheldt, which should include Hanover, and be assigned to an English Prince, in fact a new kingdom of Austrasia. Both Russia and Prussia were subsidized, the latter heavily.

After Lützen the whole energy of Metternich was thrown into the task of offering to Napoleon conditions which he would be unable to accept, thus passing from a state of neutrality to one of war by means of an armed mediation. On May 7 he instructed Stadion to suggest to Alexander the following conditions of peace: the suppression of the Duchy of Warsaw, the restitution of Austria and Prussia, the surrender by France of her territories beyond the Rhine, and of those in Italy, the independence of Holland, and the restoration of the Pope. These conditions were to be revealed to Napoleon gradually, some put forward, others kept in reserve. Instead of the eight points contained in Stadion's instructions, Metternich only mentioned five to Narbonne, the surrender of Warsaw, of the Hanse towns, of Illyria, of the Confederation of the Rhine, and the enlargement of Prussia. To Bubna, who was sent to Napoleon, he reduced the five points to three: the surrender of Warsaw, of the Hanse towns, of Illyria, with a good Austrian frontier in Italy. He was also to propose an armistice, with a view to a future congress to meet at Prague. If

Napoleon accepted, Austria would assist him with her troops; if he refused she would declare war against him.

While the allies before Bautzen were agreeing on the larger terms, which Napoleon must refuse, Bubna was holding out to him the bait of a continental peace accompanied by much smaller sacrifices, in order to allure him into the trap of accepting the mediation and the congress. If he rejected this, France would believe that he had rejected a moderate peace, which left the Grand Empire intact. Napoleon saw clearly the infamous plot which Metternich had made for his destruction, but it was difficult to meet it. He thought the best course would be to throw himself into the arms of Russia, and to conciliate Alexander by offering him the Duchy of Warsaw. He said to Bubna on May 16, "I will not accept your mediation, I will not surrender a single village which has been constitutionally joined to France. I do not care for my own life or for that of others; you can only coerce me by repeated victories. Perhaps I shall die and my dynasty will perish with me. You wish to tear from me Italy and Germany, you wish to dishonour me, sir; but honour first of all, then the wife, then the child, then the dynasty. What will become of the child in whose veins flows Austrian blood? What I care most about is the fate of the King of Rome; I do not wish to make Austrian blood hateful to France. You begin by asking for Illyria, you will go on to demand Venice, the Milanese, and Tuscany, and you will force me to fight you. You had better begin with it at once." In a letter to his father-in-law he said, "I am determined to die, if need be, at the head of such noble-minded men as France has left, rather than become the derision of the English and secure the triumph of my enemies."

He became more and more determined to make peace through Alexander. He offered a diminution of the Confederation of the Rhine, and the surrender to Prussia

of the Duchy of Warsaw, Danzig, and the Vistula, thus increasing the population of Prussia by 3,000,000 souls, and forming a double buffer between France and Russia. Then followed the battle of Bautzen on May 20, which was far more disastrous to the allies than Napoleon believed. Berlin was threatened, Hamburg recaptured, the King of Prussia was lost without the help of the Austrians. An armistice alone could save them. Napoleon was led to the same conclusion by his want of cavalry and his desire to see the effect of Eugène's movements in Italy. He was also influenced by his love for his son. He could not believe that Austria would abandon this scion of the Imperial House, and he recoiled from the fate which would befall Astyanax if Priam were destroyed. Instead of signing an armistice he should have dealt the allies a crushing blow.

On May 21 Napoleon authorized Caulaincourt to propose an armistice with a view to a congress. He desired to gain time and to prevent, if possible, a rupture with Austria. The commissioners Caulaincourt, Shuvalov, and Kleist met at Liegnitz on May 30. Caulaincourt did his best to enter into a private conference with Shuvalov, and pressed him to make a separate peace, before Napoleon's army was doubled in strength. When Metternich heard of the battle of Bautzen on May 29 he was equally anxious to arrest the progress of Napoleon. Austria was determined to fight, but it was for her interest to gain time. Napoleon suspected that an armistice would be fatal to him, but nevertheless was anxious to conclude it. "I am tired of this negotiation; try to finish it to-day." The armistice was signed at Pleiswitz on June 4. Alexander was certain that at the conclusion of the armistice he would be joined by Austria. No sooner had Napoleon signed the armistice than he regretted it. At St. Helena he confessed to Gourgaud that Soult had rightly advised him not to sign, but that he was

forced to do so by Caulaincourt and Berthier. Destiny, which had so long been his friend, was now in arms against him.

The armistice once signed, Austria prepared for war. A meeting of diplomats assembled at Reichenbach in Silesia, which was attended by the representatives of England. A treaty was signed between England and Prussia on June 14, 1813, by which Prussia was to receive a territory equivalent to what she possessed in 1806; a paper currency of 5,000,000 sterling was guaranteed by England. Prussia was to place into the field an army of 80,000 men, for which England was to pay two-thirds of a million pounds, and the Duchies of Brunswick and Hanover were to be restored. A similar treaty was signed by Russia on the following day, England contributing a subsidy of a million sterling and half a million for the use of the Russian fleet. The allies bound themselves not to treat separately with the enemy, or to sign any peace terms or conventions except by common agreement.

It was a strange kind of mediation, in which Austria could propose nothing to Napoleon to which England did not agree. Still she continued to lay down terms as the basis of a peace. These were the dissolution of the Duchy of Warsaw, the restoration of Prussia, and the cession of Danzig, the surrender of the Illyrian provinces to Austria and the abandonment of the Hanse towns, especially Hamburg and Lübeck. To these were added the dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine. These proposals were illusory if peace could not be made without the consent of England, and for fear Napoleon should accept the first conditions it was agreed that he should be asked to evacuate immediately the fortresses of the Elbe and Danzig, to which it was known that he would never agree. Metternich assured Alexander that he was quite safe. If Napoleon declined the mediation, the armistice would

come to an end, and Austria would join the allies: if he accepted, other terms would be proposed which he could not accept. This would separate him from France, and give the impression that he had refused reasonable terms of peace, an impression which most historians have adopted up to the present day. If Napoleon refused the preliminary terms, which he was certain to do, Austria was to make common cause with Russia and Prussia, which included England, and to place in the field an army of 150,000 men. Metternich had previously informed the Emperor Francis that a good peace could only be secured in his opinion by the complete liberation of Germany from French influence, by the surrender of Venice, Piedmont, Tuscany, Rome, Parma, and Naples, by the separation of Holland from France, and the restoration of the Bourbons in Spain.

It was under these circumstances that the famous interview between Metternich and Napoleon took place on June 26, at the Marcolini Palace, close to Dresden. It is difficult to ascertain what actually took place, because Metternich's account is not to be trusted. The principal object Metternich had in view was to penetrate Napoleon's views and to discover precisely what conditions he was certain to refuse. The interview lasted many hours. Napoleon said, "In short, you demand Italy, Russia, Poland, Prussia, Saxony, England, Holland, and Belgium. You are all combining to dismember my Empire. I am to evacuate Europe, of which I still hold half; my legions must retire without firing a shot behind the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. How can I meet the French people if I consent to do this? The Emperor is mistaken if he supposes that a throne thus mutilated can serve as a protection for his daughter and his grandson. Ah! Metternich, how much has England paid you to play this part against me?" They parted at length in a friendly manner, Napoleon saying, with his hand on Metternich's

shoulder, "Do you know what will happen? You will not make war against me." Napoleon had however convinced Metternich that the Austrian army was not in a state of preparation, and that it was desirable to prolong the armistice. Metternich took upon himself to do this, without informing the allies. On June 30 the convention accepting the mediation of Austria was signed by Napoleon. A congress of French, Prussian and Austrian representatives was to meet at Prague before July 5, and the armistice was prolonged till August 10.

On the evening of the same day Napoleon received the news of the loss of Spain. The battle of Vittoria had been won on June 21 and the frontier of the Pyrenees was open to the English.

Authorities.—The battlefields of Lützen and of Bautzen have been explored by the present writer. The picturesque and trustworthy narrative of Odeleben has been very useful. The authority of Sorel has been followed in the account of the negotiations. Shortly before his death Prince Metternich took his son to the Marcolini Palace, to show him the scene of the famous interview with Napoleon. What passed between father and son was repeated to the present writer on the spot. The account of the interview given by Metternich in his memoirs must be received with caution. Napoleon's correspondence has also been freely used.

CHAPTER IV

TRACHENBERG—THE BATTLE OF DRESDEN

AT this momentous juncture Napoleon undertook a journey to Mainz to meet the Empress Marie Louise. He left Dresden for this purpose on July 24. His objects were to complete his preparations, and also to remind the world of his connection with Marie Louise and with the Emperor of Austria. He reached Mainz on July 26. An eye-witness, Bochenheimer, who wrote a history of Mainz in the years 1813 and 1814, gives an account of his proceedings at this time:—

"It is astonishing how much he did, astonishing how, amidst the great pressure of business, he found time to give audiences, to review troops, to inspect supplies, fortifications, to exercise assembling troops, to issue all necessary orders. He visited the military hospital and provided space for 6000 sick. He even extended his personal care to the bakehouses and the commissariat. The neighbouring Princes, the Grand Duke and Grand Duchess of Baden, the Prince Primate Dalberg, the Grand Duke of Hesse, the Duke of Nassau, all came to Mainz to pay their respects. Savary intended to come and report upon the condition of Paris, but Napoleon would not allow him to do so." He says further: "The Emperor appeared shortly before his departure at the side of his wife on the balcony of the palace. The hour of departure had struck. The Emperor embraced and kissed his weeping wife in the sight of the Court. The Empress stood there as the

Emperor drove by under the balcony on which she was placed, on his way to the war."

The Empress left Mainz on August 2, the day after Napoleon's departure. She passed down the Rhine in a magnificent yacht, lent to her by the Duke of Nassau. She was received in Coblenz with every demonstration of honour; she then continued her journey to Cologne, and proceeded by Aix-la-Chapelle, Liége, Namur, and Soissons to Compiégne. On August 10 she was again in St. Cloud. Two days later she wrote to her father:—

"God grant that there be no war! I found my son very healthy and merry. He can speak a good deal, and is very sensible. I cannot remain with him long because the Emperor sends me on August 19th to Cherbourg to see the new harbour which Napoleon has enlarged."

In the meantime the allies were assembled at Trachenberg in Silesia, in a castle which now belongs to Prince Hatzfeldt. Thither came Bernadotte, now Crown Prince of Sweden; Alexander and Frederick William received him like a monarch. He brought with him 25,000 Swedish soldiers, all excellent troops. The French detested him, and the prisoners of Stettin had fired at him as a deserter as he passed under their walls. Another important arrival was that of Moreau, who had left the United States on June 21, and was now attached to the service of the Emperor Alexander. He had always been jealous of Napoleon, and had engaged in Royalist conspiracies. For this he had been condemned by a council of war, but the punishment had been commuted to banishment.

At Trachenberg, between August 9 and 13, the plan of campaign was formed. The first object was to drive Napoleon from Dresden. The first army of 250,000 men, composed of 130,000 Austrians and 120,000 Prussians and Russians, was to operate on Napoleon's flank, under the command of an Austrian general. The Silesian army under Blücher, composed of Prussians and Russians in

equal number was to march by way of Liegnitz and Bautzen direct on Dresden. A third army of 130,000 under Bernadotte, composed of Swedes, Prussians, Russians, Germans, and English, was to march by way of Berlin to Magdeburg. The duty of these armies was to avoid a direct conflict with Napoleon, to retreat as soon as he advanced, to attack one of his lieutenants, whom he might have left either in his flank or his rear, to retreat again when the Emperor came to his assistance and attack some other. When Napoleon had at last been weakened by the continuance of these tactics they were to seize a favourable moment to surround him with their superior numbers and to crush him. We shall see that the plan proved an eventual success.

We must now turn to the relations between Napoleon and the allies. Anstett, the Russian plenipotentiary, and Humboldt, the Prussian, arrived at Prague on July 12. Their object was to prevent any agreement being reached which might involve peace, and to convince Austria of the impossibility of any arrangement with Napoleon, so that they might declare war against him. Anstett was a personal enemy of Napoleon. The Emperor Francis was reluctant to declare war against his son-in-law, and Metternich had some difficulty in bringing him to the point. He endeavoured to familiarize him with the idea that, unless Napoleon would agree to a reasonable peace, war was inevitable. On July 12, Metternich wrote to his sovereign a long memoir arguing the necessity of a solid peace as an alternative to war. Napoleon did not sign the instructions for Narbonne and Caulaincourt to attend the congress till July 18. His desire was to prolong the armistice for another month, and he thought that this could be done. He would have preferred that the armistice should be first denounced by Russia and Prussia, while negotiations still continued with Austria. He did not believe that Austria would denounce the armistice her-

self. He would leave an army of observation of 100,000 men at Dresden, and destroy the Russians and Prussians while they were isolated. The instructions drawn up for Narbonne and Caulaincourt on July 22 ordered them to talk of peace, but to make no concessions. Knowing that Austria was false, Napoleon had some hope of concluding a satisfactory peace with Russia. At the same time every politeness was to be shown to Metternich, in the hope of keeping him quiet. These letters were written before Napoleon left for Mainz.

By July 28 Metternich was determined upon war, and it only remained to throw the responsibility upon Napoleon. This was to be done by concealing from Napoleon the real terms agreed upon between Austria, Prussia, and England, till the last moment, when it would be impossible for him to send an answer. When Napoleon returned to Dresden he felt that war was almost inevitable, but he was anxious to know what were the actual terms on which Austria was ready to preserve her neutrality, and a despatch to that effect was written on August 5, which Caulaincourt received on August 6. He called on Metternich immediately, but found that he had gone out. In the evening he met him, and Metternich expressed his doubts as to whether matters could possibly be arranged even in five days, and there were only four remaining. Two more days were wasted in communicating with the Emperor of Austria at Brandeis. When Metternich returned to Prague he told Caulaincourt that Austria was not yet bound to Russia and Prussia, but that she would be if peace were not made by August 10. He then in great secrecy enumerated the terms, which he was certain that Napoleon would refuse: the dissolution of the Duchy of Warsaw, the surrender of Hamburg and Lübeck, the dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine, the restoration of Prussia, the cession of Illyria, and a universal guarantee. Caulaincourt pressed his master to accept these terms, but Humboldt told the

King of Prussia that war would be declared whatever might be the answer of Napoleon. Caulaincourt's letter reached Dresden at 3 p.m. on August 9. Napoleon's answer, to be in time, would have to leave that evening. He saw how much the six points now placed before him differed from the three points proposed by Bubna. He desired time for reflection. He had an interview with Bubna, who was at Dresden, and was ready to make large sacrifices. "I wish for peace," he said; "but do not hold a knife to my throat." Bubna sent a courier to Metternich intimating that peace was possible. Metternich only concluded from it that it was necessary to increase the ultimatum, and Bubna's hope that Metternich would wait for the courier sent to Caulaincourt was illusory. The day of August 10 passed without a sign. Towards midnight Anstett and Humboldt stood together with their watches in their hands, and at the stroke of twelve notified to Metternich that their powers were at an end. Metternich declared the Congress dissolved, and an hour afterwards Humboldt wrote to Hardenberg that Austria had declared war against France and that Narbonne had received his passport. Bonfires flamed on every height from Prague to the frontiers of Silesia to show that the allied armies might cross the barrier mountains of Bohemia. Austria in deserting Napoleon lost a great opportunity. If she had remained faithful to the demands of honour she would have had the powerful assistance of a sovereign who never betrayed a friend, and the twentieth century would not have seen Prussia the mistress of Germany, and Austria on the verge of dismemberment.

War now broke out afresh between France and Prussia. For seven years Prussia had suffered under the heel of the oppressor. For seven months the huge army of Napoleon was passing through her territory for the invasion of Russia. All this had left her very poor, but every one of her inhabitants rose with spirit and determination to

push the claims of national independence. The bold action of York and the decisions of Königsberg flew like a fire-signal through the whole of the Prussian territory. It is remarkable that schools and universities were in the forefront of the movement. It is said that Steffens, who was a professor of natural philosophy at Breslau, enrolled himself with 200 of his students in the army of liberation, and eventually accomplished the march to Paris. In a week some 258 students of the University of Berlin placed themselves under the banner. In a single public school in Berlin 43 enlisted out of the first or highest class, 48 out of the second, 34 out of the third, 19 out of the fourth. From Berlin came also 2739 lawyers and judges. The departure of the troops from a town was always accompanied by an act of divine service. Schleiermacher preached from the text "The blind see, the deaf hear, the dead are raised." Those who could not offer themselves contributed money. Children emptied their money-boxes, girls brought their earrings and other ornaments. Married folks sacrificed their golden wedding rings, and used iron rings instead with the inscription "gold for iron." One girl sold her long fair locks for six shillings to a hairdresser, but the separate hairs were sold by auction and produced about fifty pounds. Amongst the best-known volunteers was the poet Theodor Körner, the author of the tragedy *Zriny*, remarkable for the fact that every single person in it dies before the curtain falls. He entered the corps of the "Schwarze Jäger" (the Black Guides), under the command of Lützow. Here he found Ludwig Friedrich Jahn, "Vater Jahn" as he was called, the inventor of German gymnastics. Here also were students from the Universities of Berlin, Halle, Jena, Göttingen, Greifswald, and Königsberg, professors, doctors, clergymen, men of science, as well as shopkeepers and peasants. Körner was the Tyrteus of the situation, and inflamed his countrymen with patriotic songs.

As the news of the declaration of war by Austria was conveyed by beacon lights in the midnight hours of August 11, from Prague to Silesia, the officers of the three armies embraced each other. According to the plan which had been drawn up at Trachenberg, there were to be three armies operating in three different districts; the army of the north in the neighbourhood of Berlin, the army of Silesia in the neighbourhood of Breslau, and the army of Bohemia on the Eger. Austria provided 262,000 troops, one per cent of the whole population, Prussia brought 279,000 men, six per cent of its population. The three allied sovereigns were to accompany the Austrian army, and Prince Schwarzenberg was to command it. His principles of war were those which had been first laid down by Carnot, and then developed by Napoleon. Always attack, but with preponderating force, so as to threaten first one point, then another where you are not expected. The art of the general is to provide that the enemy, wherever he shows himself, shall always find a superior force opposed to him. It had also been determined in Trachenberg that the three armies should always march in converging lines. Napoleon directed his attention first to the army of the north. Oudinot, Duke of Reggio, was to break into the Mark, drive back the foe, occupy Berlin, disarm the population, and scatter the Landwehr. Napoleon evidently despised the northern army, because he had no confidence in its leader Bernadotte, believing that he would not seriously expose himself to danger, besides being angry at his treachery. The result of this was the battle of Gross Beeren, which was fought on August 23, 1813.

The Emperor Alexander entered Prague on August 15 and was received with great enthusiasm. Certain principles were now laid down with regard to the settlements to be made after the war. A distinction was to be drawn between territories which had been actually conquered by

the French, and those which were forcibly occupied against the will of their governors. The last were to be given back to their owners as soon as possible—the first, being set free by the operations of the allied forces, might be the subject matter for future arrangement. In the first category were included (1) The possessions of the House of Hanover. (2) The portions of the States of the Church which were not mentioned in the treaty of Tolentino. (3) The inherited possessions of the King of Sardinia. (4) The possessions of the House of Orange in Germany. (5) The possessions of the Elector of Hesse. This cleared the way for the future settlement and avoided bickering disputes. At a meeting of the three monarchs in Teplitz arrangements were made in more detail; Schwarzenberg was definitely appointed general-in-chief. The military operations were divided into *campaigns*. The first was to last from August 17, 1813, till the arrival of the allies at the Rhine; when this river was reached further measures were to be adopted for the prosecution of the second campaign. Napoleon divided his army into fourteen army corps, which were organized in forty-four complete divisions, with the exception of the Imperial Guard, which formed four divisions by itself. The cavalry, which at the battle of Lützen was almost entirely wanting, now numbered 70,000. Napoleon had under his command not less than half a million troops.

Napoleon's army stretched from Hamburg to the frontier of Silesia, from Königstein to the neighbourhood of Berlin. It formed a large net of which Dresden was the centre. Napoleon's general plan was to defeat his enemies in detail, first the Prussians in the north, then the Russians in the east, then the Austrians in the south. After taking Berlin and driving back the Russians, he could force the Austrians from Bohemia into Moravia and end by dictating peace in Vienna.

The Austrians could approach Dresden by two roads,

one on the right, the other on the left bank of the Elbe. The defence of the left bank was commanded by St. Cyr. Two divisions occupied the camp of Pirna, which commanded the road from Bohemia by way of Peterswalde, one division protected the bridge across the Elbe which protected the fortresses of Königstein and Lilienstein. Dresden was occupied by a garrison of 10,000 men. Vandamme, however, was in the neighbourhood. Napoleon had so arranged matters that if Dresden could hold out for a day with its garrison of 10,000, 10,000 more would be there on the second day, and 30,000 on the third, and in a few days some 70,000, and that eventually 170,000 men would be in the capital of Saxony. Not less complete were the defences on the right bank. The defile of Zittau was protected by 12,000 men, and 80,000 could quickly be got together to resist an invading army. If the enemy determined to advance first upon Silesia, they would find 250,000 men to meet them on the Bober. Napoleon set himself to watch and control these movements.

On August 15, Napoleon left Dresden to visit his eastern divisions. He went to Zittau, and rode a few miles into Bohemia, but found no trace of the Austrians intending to advance in this direction. On the contrary, he discovered, by inquiring of peasants and other persons, that the Prussians and Russians had retired from Silesia in order to join the operations of the Austrian army. The idea occurred to him of marching with 100,000 men from Zittau, and intercepting the Prussians and Russians in the neighbourhood of Teplitz or Kommotau before they were able to join the Austrians. If, however, he were defeated, he would have to march back through the defile of Zittau. So he thought it preferable to attack them from Dresden as they approached on the left bank of the Elbe. Napoleon therefore returned to Zittau on August 19, and placed the two corps of Poniatowski and Victor II and VIII to defend Zittau, who would be supported by Van-

damme. Napoleon at Görlitz, on August 21, heard that the army of Silesia had entered the neutral zone on August 15, which was to have been left free till August 17, and was now advancing towards the Bober. Napoleon followed Blücher to punish him for his breach of neutrality. He found Macdonald and Marmont already on the Bober, one at Löwenberg and the other at Bunzlau. His other troops were in greater danger, being on the other side of the Katzbach, between Liegnitz and Haynau, threatened by the Russians. Napoleon threw bridges across the Bober, traversed the river at midday, and drove York before him. Blücher obeyed the order he had received in not seeking a fight against Napoleon in person; he had already lost from 2000 to 3000 men. Napoleon retired behind the Katzbach, and returned to Dresden. He found the capital severely attacked, and the inhabitants in despair. The Bohemian army, consisting of 250,000 men, had concentrated between Teschen and Kommotau, posted on the left bank of the Elbe. The Russians followed the road from Peterswalde passing by Pirna; the Prussians under Kleist the road by Teplitz, Zinnwalde, and Dippoldiswalde. The Austrians were intending to march from Carlsbad by way of Zwickau to Leipzig; they had with them Moreau and Jomini as military advisers. The army of Bohemia came into conflict with St. Cyr on August 23. As we have said, the road to Dresden was defended by the camp of Pirna and by the fortresses of Königstein and Lilienstein, united by a bridge. The enemy could not cross the stream. St. Cyr himself retired into Dresden with 30,000 men.

On August 25, 125,000 allies stood before Dresden. A sudden attack might have been successful, but it was delayed because Klenau's corps had not reached its position on the left. The allied troops surrounded the Altstadt in a half circle from Elbe to Elbe. Napoleon now came up with his generals, having marched about ninety miles

in three days. He conceived the idea of making the allied monarchs prisoners and ending the war, by marching towards Vienna, and attacking the rear of the enemy with 140,000 men. He sent Murat to Dresden to quiet the population. But the Royal Family and St. Cyr himself were in great distress. Napoleon begged St. Cyr to hold out for forty-eight hours, but he replied that he was not sure he could do so. Napoleon then sent Gourgaud to get information. This feather-pated person reported that the Court and the inhabitants were in great trouble, and that the generals had begun to lose their nerve; the Altstadt was being deserted, the King and St. Cyr were preparing to move into the Neustadt. Gourgaud painted the danger in the darkest colours. Napoleon therefore gave up his plan and determined to enter Dresden with 100,000 men. He ordered Lauriston and Macdonald to drive the Prussians back again over the Katzbach, which was done on August 23. Blücher retired to Jauer.

Giving up his plan of genius, which might have secured success, Napoleon ordered Vandamme to move with 40,000 men to the left bank of the Elbe, to raise the camp of Pirna, and to establish himself in the Peterswalde road. He galloped to Dresden and entered the city at 9 a.m. on August 26. He was received with cries of "Vive l'Empereur!", hastened to the palace to comfort the King, and then visited his troops. He was satisfied with the precautions already taken by St. Cyr. The allies were posted on the heights to the west of Dresden. The attack on the town began on August 26, at 3 a.m., under Schwarzenberg and Radetzky, who fought almost down to our own day. The attack and the defence were both vigorous: the French boasted that they had killed 4000 of the enemy and taken 2000 prisoners. The day ended with a great cannonade. Napoleon was very cheerful at the royal banquet, and was confident of victory on the morrow.

In the afternoon he had carefully observed the topography of the town, and taken especial note of the ravine known as the Plauensche Grund, well known to all visitors to Dresden. This deep cleft made by the little stream of the Weisseritz divided the Austrian force into two parts, so that if their left was forced into the Grund, the right could not come to their assistance. If Murat attacked the extreme left of the Austrians with a large force of cavalry and a thousand infantry, his approach would be unobserved in the general confusion of the battle. After a few hours' sleep Napoleon renewed the struggle. Ney was to attack the right wing of the allies, Marmont and Victor to give the coup de grâce on the left. Napoleon had only 120,000 men, the allies had 200,000, of whom 20,000 were before Pirna, under Prince Eugene of Würtemberg. The morning of August 27 was misty and rainy. The position of the allies was as before; the Russians, under Barclay de Tolly on the right wing, then the Prussians under Kleist, then the Austrians under Colloredo and Chastelar, and then the rest of the Austrians beyond the Plauensche Grund. Heavy fighting took place on the Great Garden, and at Strehlen. Victor and Murat began their attack at 11 a.m. The rain prevented the Austrians from using their muskets, and they had to rely on the bayonet: in a short time two divisions were entirely defeated. Six thousand men had to lay down their arms. Before 2 p.m. Murat had killed 2000 men and taken 12,000 prisoners. Napoleon conducted the artillery fire in the centre, and it is said that he pointed the gun, the bullet of which gave Moreau his death wound, as he stood by the side of Alexander. Moreau was in great pain, and could only utter lamentations about the good fortune of Napoleon.

The allies were crushed by three pieces of bad news, the death of Moreau, the defeat of the Austrians on the Plauensche Grund, and the defeat of Prince Eugene of Würtemberg by Vandamme. They held a council of war.

The majority were in favour of continuing the struggle; but Schwarzenberg, distressed at the loss of 20,000 men, said that the ammunition train had not arrived and declined to go on. Orders were therefore given to retire into Bohemia.

The battle ended at 6 p.m. The allies had suffered a serious loss; they had lost 40 guns, 10,000 or 11,000 men killed and wounded, 15,000 or 16,000 taken prisoners, where the French had only lost 9000. Napoleon had done wonders. He had galloped into the town on August 26, when the fight had been already raging for some time. On August 27 he had been for twelve hours in the midst of pouring rain, directing the artillery fire with his own hand. When he returned to the Palace he was wet through, and blackened by powder. The flaps of his cocked hat were turned down over his face to protect him from the tempest. He must have looked like a coal-heaver drenched in a thunderstorm. He was received with enthusiasm by the King and all the Court. Unfortunately it was the last smile of good fortune for him. He asked, "Whom did I hit of all those distinguished people who were standing around Alexander?" The answer was brought by a dog which then entered the room, and on its neck a collar with the inscription, "Je suis le chien de Moreau." Napoleon allowed his soldiers to rest during the night, and wrote orders for the operations of the following day. His intention was to follow the retreating allies, to cut them off in the mountains and the forests, and to destroy them entirely.

Authorities.—Sorel is again followed in the diplomatic negotiations. The present writer is intimately acquainted with the battlefields of Dresden, Saxony, and the Erzgebirge as far as Teplitz.

CHAPTER V

KULM KATZBACH AND DENNEWITZ—NAPOLEON AT DÜBEN

AFTER the battle of Dresden, where were the allies to reassemble? Schwarzenberg had given the command that they should concentrate at Eger. The retreat was a difficult matter. Alexander lost his courage and leant to the opinion that Napoleon was so powerful that no one could attack him with success. Frederick William III was also in dejection. Barclay de Tolly, the Russian general, took a line of his own, and instead of retreating by Peterswalde directly into Bohemia, chose the road by Dippoldiswalde, saying that he had the authority of his Emperor. It was indeed difficult for a defeated army of such magnitude to retire along a single road. It eventually happened that the defeated army proceeded by three roads, the bulk of the Russians towards Bohemia by Peterswalde, the Austrians and Prussians by Altenberg, Zinnwalde, and Teplitz, and the Austrian left wing by Freiberg and Kommotau. The French followed the retreating army along these three roads, but at a considerable distance, making however a number of prisoners. The march began on the morning of August 28. The Peterswalde column was commanded by the Prince Eugene of Würtemberg and Count Ostermann. Vandamme had occupied the plateau of Pirna on August 27, and was surprised by the appearance of the Russians on the following day, because he knew nothing of the battle. Napoleon sent Mortier and St. Cyr, with the

Young Guard and the 12th corps, to join Vandamme. At the same time he despatched Marmont on the road to Altenberg, and Murat on the road to Freiberg.

It is not known whether Napoleon intended merely to drive the allies over the mountains, or to attack them in the plains beyond. A memoir written by him at this date on the situation of his affairs, seems to show that he feared to engage himself too much in Bohemia, lest he should neglect Bernadotte and Blücher. The desire to seize Berlin seems to have haunted his mind. He himself reached Pirna about midday, and after *déjeuner* was seized, it is said, with violent pains, owing perhaps to the rain to which he had been exposed during the battle. Some, however, who were with him do not mention this illness at all. He unfortunately determined not to proceed further and returned to Dresden, leaving Vandamme without proper orders, and without knowledge of his movements. He left with Vandamme four divisions of infantry and three brigades of cavalry, in all 40,000 men, with which he hoped to attack the allies and drive them over the mountains. As we have indicated, Mortier and St. Cyr were sent to Pirna to meet Vandamme, while Marmont, Victor, and Murat were to pursue the enemy, so that the French force was overwhelming. On the night of August 28 the Emperor Alexander was with Prince Schwarzenberg in Altenberg, the King of Prussia was at Teplitz with the Emperor of Austria and Prince Metternich. Vandamme followed the Russian army by Peterswalde and over the pass of Nollendorf, driving them like sheep before him to Kulm. The fugitives reached that village on August 29, a Sunday morning, while the bells were sounding for church. The two bodies of pursuers and pursued with all the accompaniments of war, the roar of cannon, the order of battle, the bray of trumpets, alarmed the peaceful valley. The peasants left the church to save their property.

At length Ostermann with the Russian guard reached some rising ground in the neighbourhood of Priesten, where he was able to make a stand. From this place he sent urgent messages to the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia at Teplitz to come to his assistance. He had under him only 67,000 men. The King of Prussia arrived at midday, and reinforcements gradually came up. The battle was of a very irregular description, as both sides received additional forces from time to time.

The Tsar arrived on the field at 2 p.m., as the struggle still raged round Priesten. A decisive attack was made by the Austrian general, under Ostermann's orders, much against his will. He only consented to use the best troops of his master on the urgent demand of Prince Eugene of Würtemberg. As he led the attack he was wounded by a cannon-ball in the left arm, and carried off the field. Priesten was held against the furious onslaught of the French. At 6 p.m. Barclay de Tolly made his appearance, and a little later, Schwarzenberg. On asking the news he was told "Four thousand of the Guards strew the field, Ostermann is as good as killed, all is lost." "Does the Guard hold firm?" "Yes, sir, it does," was the reply. "Then all is well, we shall have success to-morrow." Darkness had fallen on the autumn evening. Prince Eugene had lost 24,000 men. Vandamme passed the night in the Great House at Kulm.

The morning of Monday, August 30, broke fair. Both sides had received reinforcements. Vandamme was expecting the arrival of Napoleon, of whose change of plans he was ignorant, or at least of St. Cyr. The fortune of war now underwent a complete change. Kleist, who had attempted to cross the mountain range by the pass of Ebersdorf, found it blocked, and, obeying a suggestion of the King of Prussia, marched along the side of the mountains to the crest of Nollendorf from which he could descend to Kulm. The battle began at 8 a.m., and was

hotly contested on both sides. As the sun rose higher, the heat became intense. At last cannon was heard on the side of Nollendorf. Vandamme at first believed that it indicated the arrival of Napoleon, but before long he saw the Prussian troops of Kleist descending the winding road. He was taken between two fires, and he gallantly attempted to cut his way through Kleist's division. The Prussians, surprised at their success, captured Kulm at the point of the bayonet and entered the courtyard of the house which Vandamme had only just left. Vandamme, making desperate efforts to drive his horse through the swampy ground, was taken prisoner at the moment when, with a map in his hand, he was planning a retreat through the mountains.

Two battles were raging at the same time, one in the plain for the possession of the village, and one in the hills, where the French were trying to force their retreat. Corbineau commanded the first with a bandage round his wounded head. The combatants fought with bayonet and sword, and even with fists. Four thousand French surrendered in the plain. Kulm was set on fire, together with Priesten and Karbitz. The loss was very great on both sides. The allies had 3319 killed. On the French side, seven generals were killed and two taken prisoners. A whole corps d'armée was annihilated. The French lost 82 cannons, 2 eagles, 200 baggage wagons and 10,000 men. Vandamme, a colossal figure, without hat or sword, was brought before the allied sovereigns by Cossacks and Dragoons. He was carried off a prisoner to Moscow. This was the turning-point of Napoleon's fortunes. If Vandamme had been supported, not only would the allied armies have been dispersed, but the allied sovereigns would have been captured. They were standing together on a hill, now called the Hill of Monarchs, and all Napoleon would have had to do, if he had been there, was to surround the bottom of the hill, and wait till they came down.

The campaign would have been at an end, and peace would have been made. Fortune does not offer these chances more than once, even to her greatest favourites. It can never be decided why Napoleon discontinued his advance at Pirna. The action of St. Cyr and Marmont was probably hampered by jealousy. Napoleon regarded himself as the sport of fate. "Yesterday," he said, "I was at the top of the wave; now I am in the trough. Such is the destiny of man." Vandamme was set free in 1814, joined Napoleon in 1815, was banished, and died in 1830.

The courier who reached Napoleon at Pirna on August 28 brought intelligence of disaster. When Blücher heard that Napoleon had retired to Dresden, he determined to advance in accordance with the plan arranged at Trachenberg. He therefore set out on August 26, the day on which Napoleon arrived at Dresden, to attack the French on the west of the Katzbach, and Macdonald came to meet him. The battle raged round the two rivers, the Katzbach and the Wüthende-Neisse, the furious Neisse, torrents which have scarcely any water in hot weather, but after rain become raging rivers. The Katzbach is a tributary of the Oder, into which it falls at Liegnitz. The Neisse is a tributary of the Katzbach, and has its origin at a spot near the battlefield of Hohenfriedberg. The country between the two rivers is hilly. The battle was fought in pouring rain, which had continued for three days previously. It was very confused, and it is hardly worth while to give a detailed account of it. Macdonald scarcely knew where Blücher was. The soil was so thoroughly soaked that the troops on both sides stuck in the mud as they marched, and the greater part of the Prussian Landwehr lost their shoes. A strong north-west wind drove into the faces of Blücher's troops. It was so dark that the soldiers could scarcely see a hundred steps before them. This was not good weather for fighting; but Blücher was determined on a battle. The engagement began exactly

at 2 p.m. Blücher is said to have waited until a sufficient number of the French troops had crossed the Katzbach, and then said, "Jetzt habe ich genug Franzosen herüber, nun vorwärts" (Now I have enough French across the river, so forwards!) From this he received the name of Marshal Forwards. Thousands were drowned in the raging waters of the Neisse and the Katzbach. Blücher by his personal bravery and vigour worked wonders.

The result of the battle of the Katzbach was curious. Both armies became demoralized owing to the sufferings which they had been forced to undergo. The French soldiers, who were mostly young troops, deserted, and 10,000 of them became marauders. Macdonald found himself on the Bober with 50,000 dejected soldiers. He said that only the Emperor could restore hope to the army. In a similar manner a number of the Landwehr deserted to their homes, much broken at the hardships which they had suffered. Out of 13,319 men, only 6277 remained. Some battalions had no more than 100 men. The loss of the Silesian army was 12,965 men and 1119 horses. On September 1, Blücher gave his troops a day of rest, fired "feux de joie," and held a thanksgiving. He also counted up his trophies—107 cannons, 250 ammunition wagons, 2 eagles, 18,000 prisoners, amongst whom were 3 generals. The loss of the French is reckoned at 30,000.

The other Job's post which reached Napoleon at Pirna was the defeat of Oudinot at Gros Beeren on August 23, the merit of which is to be ascribed, not to the Swedes under Bernadotte, but to the Prussian Landwehr. When the Emperor heard of it, he said, "It is difficult to have less head than Oudinot." Ney was ordered to repair Oudinot's errors. Ney was greatly admired by Napoleon. Born, like Napoleon and Pitt, in 1769, he entered the army as a common soldier in 1781, became an officer in 1792, Brigadier-General in 1796, General of Division in 1799, Marshal in 1804, Duke of Elchingen in the same

year, Prince de la Moskowa in 1812. Napoleon called him the "Roland of the French army," the "Bravest of the Brave." On the retreat from Moscow, Napoleon said that he would give two million francs from his treasure in the cellars of the Tuileries to save Ney, and at another time he said that it was impossible for any two people to have more courage than Ney and Murat, that is, physical courage. Moral courage, or what Wellington called two o'clock in the morning courage, is a different thing. That few people possess, Napoleon himself perhaps in the highest degree. Few generals, he said, had the courageous desire to begin a battle. Desaix he placed in the highest rank, in the combination of ability and character. Lannes also he praised highly and lamented deeply. He said, "I found him a dwarf; when I lost him he was a giant." We shall see later that in Ney's courage lay a serious defect; he could second the plans of others, but had not sufficient self-control to command alone and to take the lead.

After the defeat at Gross Beeren, Oudinot had retired to Wittenberg. Ney joined him here on September 3, and held a review of 65,000 men, including the corps of Oudinot, Bertrand and Regnier, and the cavalry of Arrighi. On September 6 he determined to advance to Dennewitz and attack Bülow. The Prussians were 20,000 strong, under the command of Bülow and Tauenzien, Bernadotte being commander-in-chief. On September 5 the French attacked at Eupen, driving the Prussians back, but the decisive battle took place at Dennewitz the following day. The battlefield was composed of a high table-land, hilly and sandy, diversified with pine woods and marshy meadows, sand holes and dangerous swamps. At 9 a.m. Ney gave the signal for attack, the French being hidden from their adversaries by a line of hills. Tauenzien had already climbed the hill to meet them. The Prussians stood firm as a wall, and the battle continued thus till 3 p.m. Then the cannon of Bülow were

heard approaching; Tauenzien renewed his attack with cavalry. The news of the victory of Blücher on the Katzbach arrived at the moment and inspired the Landwehr. Ney began to realize his danger. At 3 p.m. Oudinot approached, and the village of Göhlsdorf was taken. The conduct of Bernadotte did not command the respect of the Prussians. Ney committed the fault of remaining on the right wing, and leaving Oudinot, who had command of the left wing, to support the centre. At 1 p.m. the battle was lost. The Prussian trophies consisted of four standards, 53 cannon, 100 ammunition wagons, 13,000 prisoners. The French loss in dead and wounded was 10,000, the Prussian 9000. The Prussians maintain that Bernadotte did not advance until the battle was won. Bülow begged him to follow the enemy with his cavalry. Bernadotte answered, "Tell General Bülow that the battle is won, and that I am coming with 48 battalions and 100 guns."

It is hardly worth while now to discuss the vexed question of Bernadotte's conduct. There is no doubt that he did not display as much zeal as the Germans. It may be argued in his defence that his great object was to destroy Napoleon, perhaps in order that he might himself become Emperor of France. He did not care for the aggrandizement either of Prussia or Russia. He had only a small army of Swedes, which could easily be destroyed. His object was to wear out Napoleon with as little loss as possible. The Prussian generals were brave, but knew little of scientific warfare. The Prussian army was badly formed and badly drilled. Bernadotte said to Moreau, "I intend to wage against Napoleon a close methodical war. He who saves his soldiers remains the strongest. Endurance is the main thing." But he was regarded by the Prussians as a traitor.

The fugitives of the French army fled to Torgau. Ney said to General Lapoype in Wittenberg: "I am no longer

master of the army; it refuses to obey me, and has dissolved itself." Ney wrote to Napoleon: "I have been thoroughly beaten. I do not know whether my army can be collected again. Your flank is exposed. Therefore take care. I think it is time to leave the Elbe and retreat to the Saale." The Berlin magistrates ordered a gold medal to be struck in honour of Bernadotte, with the inscription "Conqueror of Dennewitz." He accepted it only on the condition that the names of Bülow, Tauenzien, and other generals were placed on the reverse side. Bülow would not allow his name to appear. In 1814 he was made a Count, with the title Bülow von Dennewitz.

These three great blows dealt to the power of Napoleon strengthened the allies in their plans. The two treaties of Teplitz between Russia and Austria, and Russia and Prussia respectively, were signed on September 9. They confirmed the treaties already concluded by Russia and Prussia. They secured the preservation of friendship between the sovereigns, the mutual guarantee of each other's possessions, and common operation for this end, the formation of a corps of 60,000 men for mutual assistance, which would be strengthened in case of need; an obligation not to make either peace or armistice except by mutual consent; the mutual support of envoys and ambassadors at foreign courts, and the admission of Powers to the alliance who held similar opinions.

Besides this there were certain separate and secret articles which determined the following points:—

1. The restitution of the Prussian and Austrian monarchies as they were in 1805.

2. The dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine, the complete and entire independence of the restored Austrian Princes of the States lying between the frontier of Austria and Prussia, and on the line of the Rhine and the Alps. Additional articles further provided that the territories in Northern Germany united with France under

the name of the 32nd Military Division, and all those in Germany occupied by French Princes, should be given up.

3. Restoration of the House of Brunswick-Lüneburg in its entire German possessions.

4. A friendly agreement between Prussia, Russia, and Austria as to the Duchy of Warsaw.

It was further provided that these arrangements should not in any way prejudice engagements which they had made with other Powers for the same end. This gave full scope to the demands of Austria and Sweden. These treaties were followed a month later by a treaty between Austria and England signed at Teplitz on October 9.

In the arrangements for the future constitution of Germany there was an entire difference of opinion between Metternich and Stein. Stein, sprung from an ancient line of Imperial counts, desired an Emperor, an Imperial army, and an Imperial court of justice. Metternich and the Emperor Francis preferred a speedy and durable peace on the easiest terms. Metternich called Stein a Jacobin, Stein called Metternich a sly, cold egoist, a calculator without depth, a good book-keeper, but no great mathematician, who hoped to regenerate Europe by diplomatic arts. On the other hand, Hardenberg and Humboldt were against the restoration of an empire, but Hardenberg was willing that Austria should recover the territory which had been given to Baden.

Bavaria formed a difficulty from the closeness of its relations with France. By French influence it had become a monarchy of considerable extent, with 4,000,000 inhabitants. During the armistice the Bavarian army was increased to 40,000 men. It was important for the allies to secure the adhesion of so powerful a colleague. The Emperor Francis wrote to King Maximilian to ask for his assistance, and on August 1, 1813, Alexander I also wrote to the King of Bavaria, urging him to desert Napoleon and guaranteeing to him the whole of his possessions, as

he desired not only to preserve the power of Bavaria, but, if necessary, to increase it. At last Bavaria, who had always been on the side of Napoleon, was induced to change her policy, and the Treaty of Ried was signed on October 8, 1813, in which Bavaria was reorganized as a completely sovereign state, and entered the coalition with equal rights. She gave up to Austria the Tyrol, Salzburg, and the so-called Innviertel, but received in compensation Würzburg and Aschaffenburg, and was promised the principalities of Anspach and Bayreuth. It was necessary that similar terms should be offered to Würtemberg, Baden, and Hesse as a condition of entering the coalition, and also to the smaller states of the Rhine Confederation. It was no longer possible to think of a renewal of the empire, nor of a union between all German States.

Napoleon left Dresden in the evening of September 3, and slept among the troops of Mortier, in the neighbourhood of Bischoffswerda. The next day he reached Bautzen. Accompanied by Macdonald, he went to Hochkirch, Blücher, according to the arrangements of Trachenberg, retiring before him. Here, overcome by fatigue, he lay down, dispirited and weary, on a bundle of straw in a farm shed, and abandoned himself to deep thought. His generals stood round him in melancholy silence. He gave orders for his troops to follow Blücher as far as Görlitz, and suddenly in the middle of the night returned to Dresden. After Napoleon's departure Blücher returned to the attack, while Wittgenstein advanced by way of Peterswalde to Pirna, and Schwarzenberg marched at the head of 60,000 men by way of Leitmeritz to threaten Napoleon's flank. When Blücher became certain that Napoleon had left Silesia, he returned on September 12 to Bautzen, and the Bohemian army, when they knew that Napoleon was at Dresden, returned to Bohemia. By this stratagem of see-saw, Napoleon lost time and ground, and his soldiers were wearied out.

A guerilla warfare was waged in Germany in the rear of the French, their communications were interrupted, supplies were destroyed, several detachments carried off, and the hatred of the population stimulated against the invader. More than 10,000 prisoners were taken. On September 28 the Russian general, Chernichev, occupied Cassel, the capital of the kingdom of Westphalia, and drove King Jerome to Wetzlar, upon which his throne was declared vacant. The dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine, and of the kingdom of Westphalia, was a serious blow to Napoleon's power.

The smoke of Wittgenstein's artillery could now be seen from the steeples of Dresden. Napoleon attacked him on September 7, and he retired after a show of resistance. But he still held Pirna, while Napoleon established himself at Dohna, a short distance off, about ten miles from Dresden. On September 9, by the advice of St. Cyr, he determined, instead of attacking Wittgenstein at Pirna, to march straight on to Teplitz. Wittgenstein performed a similar manœuvre, and the two armies advanced by parallel roads. Napoleon slept in the fortress of Kuckuckstein, which lies over the little town of Liebstadt. Lobau passed Wittgenstein, and established himself in Peterswalde. At last Napoleon reached the summit of the Erzgebirge, and looked down upon the allied forces and the fatal village of Kulm. The Russians and Prussians were drawn up in order of battle. He must have reflected how his fortunes would have changed if he had been upon that spot a few days before. He saw that an attack was impossible, and said to St. Cyr, "I will not attack the enemy in this position, but you and Lobau manœuvre as if we were intending to fight." On September 11 there was a skirmish between the two forces, and on the same day Napoleon retired to Breitenau, where he slept in the priest's house, and then to Dresden. Lobau received orders to hold the Pirna road as far as Peterswalde, but

was attacked by the Russians coming over the pass of Nollendorf. The allies now received the comforting news of the victory of Dennewitz. On September 15 Napoleon again left Dresden with his guards, and ordered Lobau to recover his lost position. On the following day the French again advanced to Peterswalde and a Colonel Blücher was taken prisoner. Napoleon asked him, "How many soldiers has your King (of Prussia)?" Blücher answered, "As many as he has faithful subjects." On the evening of September 16 Napoleon again arrived at Nollendorf, to reconnoitre the position of the enemy. As the weather was dull he slept at Peterswalde. On September 17 he was a third time at Nollendorf, that prominent height crowned by a picturesque chapel, and, descending the hill, attacked the enemy. The battle began at 11 a.m., on much the same ground as the battle of Kulm. After a severe struggle the Austrians claimed the victory, but the battle was put an end to by a heavy rain and a thunderstorm. The fighting continued for several days without any decisive result, but on September 21, Napoleon was back again in Dresden. Three weeks had been lost in useless marches.

Shortly after this the position of Napoleon in Dresden became untenable. Saxony was exhausted, and the army had no provisions. The great Bohemian army marched through the Saxon Erzgebirge on September 27. Blücher, advancing from Silesia, crossed the Elbe; the army of the North also crossed the same river by Roslau, near Comnitz and Wittenberg. A portion of the French army left Dresden at the end of September. Murat was sent to oppose the army of Bohemia on October 3. At last, on October 7, Napoleon, accompanied by the King of Saxony, left Dresden for good, St. Cyr remaining behind with 20,000 men. The King proceeded to Leipzig, Napoleon to Düben. No spot connected with Napoleon's fortunes is more picturesque than this simple old castle, which overhangs the waters of the Mulde. Napoleon

remained here for three days, not being able to make up his mind whether he should attack Blücher and Bernadotte on the north, whether he should by a stroke of genius collect his garrisons from the fortresses of the Elbe and the Oder, and attack the enemy in the rear, or whether by a hasty movement towards Leipzig he should crush the Russians and Austrians before they had time properly to unite, and before they could be joined by the Prussians. Deep are the emotions of one who visits the scene of this momentous decision. An inscription on a small stone, hidden by bushes, on the cliff overlooking the river, designates the spot on which Napoleon stood when he harangued his passing troops. We may dismiss, if not as fable, certainly as an exaggeration, the account given by Caulaincourt of the marshals rebelling against Napoleon's plan of marching to Berlin, but his personal recollections are perhaps more trustworthy. After waiting all day to see the Emperor, who was alone in his cabinet, he asked for admission and received no reply. The night was dark and cold, the wind howled through the passages, and shook the windows in their leaden frames. At last, at midnight, he was admitted. He found his master lying on a sofa, a table at his side covered with maps and papers. His eyes were dim and fixed, and he seemed to be suffering under deep affliction. At last he rose from the sofa, paced two or three times up and down the room, and said, "All is lost! I am vainly contending against Fate. The French people do not know how to bear reverse." Odeleben, a less imaginative character, says of the same period, that he saw the Emperor, when he was waiting for news from the Elbe, totally unemployed, seated on a sofa in his room, near a large table; before him lay a sheet of white paper on which he was scrawling large letters: his geographer d'Albe and another secretary were in a corner of the room, equally unoccupied with himself, awaiting orders. How different this from the man who said at

Passariano, "I may lose a battle, but I will never lose a minute."

We now approach the battle of Leipzig, the Battle of the Nations rightly so called. The eagles of Napoleon were followed by Italians, Spaniards, Portuguese, Belgians, Dutch, Swiss, Poles and Germans. Against Napoleon fought Germans, Slavs, Hungarians, North Germans, Swedes, English, also Bashkirs and Kalmucks armed with bow and arrow.

As to the numbers which fought at Leipzig, there are different accounts. Napoleon probably had 200,000 men and 750 guns. The allies had a larger number. The weather was very bad. It rained hard as the soldiers slept on the battlefield. A cold wind swept over these upland plains. The soldiers made barriers of dead bodies against the wind. Napoleon pitched his tent in a disused quarry. All sides fought with the greatest energy. Marmont gives as his personal recollections :—

"My chief of the staff and the under chief were killed at my side, four adjutants were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. For myself, I received a musket-shot in my hand, a contusion in my left arm, a ball through my hat, one through my clothes; four horses were killed under me. Of the servants in my suite, two were wounded and three were killed. The soldiers surpassed themselves in energy and courage. I never felt so proud of my soldiers as I did on that day."

Authorities.—The battle of Kulm, the turning-point of the campaign, has not received from historians the attention which it deserves. The topography of the battle, which includes the most picturesque portion of the Erzgebirge, amply repays minute investigation. The best account of the battle is by Aster. The old castle of Düben also repays a visit, the spot where the balance of Napoleon's fortunes wavered a moment, and then turned against him.

CHAPTER VI

LEIPZIG AND HASSAU

BETWEEN the 14th and the 20th of October, 1813, a number of battles and engagements took place, which are known by the collective name of the Battle of Leipzig. This name is in some ways misleading. The engagement of the 14th was what may be called a recognizance battle. It was fought in order that the Bohemian army might obtain information about the strength of the army of Murat, and that it might ascertain whether he intended to stand his ground or to retreat. The 16th was occupied by the battle of Wachau, which was the principal battle by which the fate of Germany was determined. There took place at the same time the engagements of Connewitz and Lindenau, which served to distract the attention of Napoleon from the main struggle. More important was the battle fought on the other side of Leipzig, at Moeckern. The fact that Marmont's army was engaged at Moeckern by the united forces of Blücher and Bernadotte prevented the battle of Wachau from being decisive, and indeed rendered Napoleon's final defeat a mere question of time. So convinced was Napoleon of this that he employed the 17th in negotiations which he must have known would be fruitless. The battle of the 18th was fought only to cover Napoleon's retreat. He fought it in the position of a lion at bay; his despatching Bertrand to Weissenfels on the morning of that day shows that he entertained no hope of a successful issue. On October 18, Napoleon stood com-

pletely surrounded by his enemies. The battle of the 19th was a battle of the rear-guard, in which Napoleon sacrificed a certain portion of his troops in order to save the rest.

Napoleon left Düben at 7 a.m. on October 14, and rode towards Leipzig. At 11 a.m. was heard a loud cannonade to the south of the city, which showed that Murat was engaged with the army of Bohemia. The wind brought the sound of the artillery very closely, so that Napoleon hastened his advance. He entered the town at midday, accompanied by some battalions of the Old Guard, and by some of the cavalry of the Guard. He rode in by the Halle Gate, round the promenade, and out by the northern Grimma Gate, and just beyond this he stopped at the spot where the old gallows used to stand, now marked by four pieces of stone. Here he spread out his plans on a table, and received the reports of Murat's battle, which was proceeding all the time. The weather was cold and stormy, so a large fire was lighted, at which Napoleon warmed himself, often kicking the logs with his feet, as his habit was. A cloth was being spread for his dinner when a long line of carriages approached under military escort. It was the King of Saxony with his wife and daughter coming from Taucha. The King of Saxony left his carriage and came to meet Napoleon, who on his side advanced to salute the Queen. The King mounted his horse and rode into the town, while Napoleon gave orders to Marmont to meet the advance of the armies of Silesia and the North, and directed the heads of the other columns as they arrived towards Liebertwolkwitz. About 4 p.m. Napoleon and his suite mounted their horses and rode to Reudnitz, where a lodging had been prepared for him in the house of the banker Vetter.

The battle of the 14th was principally a cavalry engagement for the possession of Liebertwolkwitz, which was taken and retaken several times. The losses were about

equal on either side, and were considerable for an engagement of that kind. It was put an end to at about 5 p.m. by the falling rain. Napoleon had intended in the first instance to fight the decisive battle on the 15th, but his troops had not arrived, so that he was unfortunately obliged to defer it for a day. The 16th was a Saturday, cold and misty. The battle began by an advance of the allied troops, and by a cannonade directed by Prince Eugene of Würtemberg. This was replied to by the French, and the Russians lost heavily. The allies attacked the position of the French in three columns. Kleist marched with 10,000 Prussians and Russians against Markleeberg, Prince Eugene attacked Wachau, whilst Klenau made for Liebertwolkwitz. The allies had 68,000 men in reserve. Their line was very much extended, so that the separate columns had little communication with each other. Napoleon reached the battlefield at about 9 a.m. and took up his position on the Galgenberg, the Gallows Hill, from which he had a view of the whole field. Murat pointed out to him the columns of the enemy as they advanced. He examined them carefully, and then mounting his horse rode a little to the rear. Some cannon-balls from the Russian batteries passed over the heads of the Emperor's suite. A little after nine the Emperors of Russia and Austria and the King of Prussia took up their position on the Wachberg, between Guldengossa and Göhren. Three chairs were brought from the inn of Göhren, and on these the three monarchs took their seats to watch the battle, which could easily be seen from that point. The Emperor of Russia observed immediately the great mistake which Schwartzenberg had made in posting the Austrian troops between the two rivers, the Pleisse and the Elster; he tried to remedy it, but it was too late. On the whole the attack of the allies was successful, and the French troops were, about 10 a.m., driven behind Wachau.

Napoleon now thought that the time had come to take

THE EMPEROR'S BIVOUAC

(From an engraving in Mr. A. M. Broadley's collection)

the offensive. His battalions advanced to the storm of Wachau. Prince Eugene held his ground with noble courage : the village was taken and retaken five times, but Liebertwolkwitz was lost by Klenau, and Markleeberg by Kleist. By midday the allies had lost all the advantage of their morning's victories. Napoleon now determined to attack the centre of the enemy with a large force of cavalry. If this were successful, Marshal Victor and General Lauriston were to support the attack with infantry, while Marshals Mortier and Macdonald were to envelope the right of the allies. The object of this manœuvre was to force the allies back from their right, to break through their centre, either to divide them or to drive them into the Pleisse, or to compel them to repass the Pleisse and the Elster under fire, and to cut them off from their base of operations. Napoleon did not know that the centre which he proposed to attack was being strengthened by the approach of reserves. The cavalry destined for the charge consisted of 45 regiments, in all 12,000 sabres, formed in four squares. Advancing at full speed, they were to crush everything which came in their way. At 2 p m. there reigned an uncanny stillness, which was suddenly broken by the sound of trumpets. The two divisions of cavalry were commanded by Murat and Kellermann, the latter charging on the left, the King of Naples on the centre towards Guldengossa. The earth resounded under the hoofs of this mighty mass, and shook beneath its weight. A regiment of Russian infantry which stood in their way was ridden down, and 300 of them were left dead on the field. It happened, however, that just in front of Guldengossa, and the hill on which the three sovereigns were collected with their staff, there ran a small ravine connected with some ponds. Schwarzenberg, who was an accomplished cavalry officer, did not lose his presence of mind. Observing the French, he said, "They are out of breath; when they reach this spot they will be ex-

hausted." The French were now only a hundred yards from the hill; Schwarzenberg begged the sovereigns to retire while he drew his sword, and rushed into the battle. The monarchs mounted their horses and galloped away, only just escaping capture. The French cavalry now reached the ditch; some leapt it and galloped into Guldengossa, others fell into it. The strength of the charge was broken; as the rear rank halted they were attacked by the Russian cuirassiers on their flank, as well as by a Russian battery which had been despatched by the Emperor Alexander. Murat's cavalry was compelled to retire, and sought a refuge behind the squares of the infantry. Napoleon had sent a message to the King of Saxony to say that the day was won, and to order all the bells to ring for the victory. They sounded, however, for his defeat.

Napoleon, on the defeat of his cavalry, did not give up his efforts to break the centre of the enemy, but pressed again forwards. In a pause of the attack the sound of artillery was heard on the other side of Leipzig. It was the cannonade of Blücher, who was attacking Marmont in the direction of Moeckern. Napoleon now knew that Marmont was fully occupied, and that no reinforcements could be expected from that quarter. The second attack on Guldengossa was more violent than the first, but the forces of resistance were so carefully disposed that it was repulsed. The French broke up and retired in great disorder; they had to content themselves with firing upon the village with sharpshooters and artillery, which lasted till 9 p.m. The failure of this attack shattered Napoleon's plans; victory was wrested from his hands. He had spent his last strength, and had no reserve from which to supply his losses. In the meantime, to the north of Leipzig, Marmont and Ney had withstood the onslaught of Blücher, Marmont having 20,000 men and Ney 36,000. Their duty was to keep Leipzig in the possession of the

French, and to guard the roads from Eilenberg and Düben. Marmont had been ordered at eight o'clock in the morning to join Napoleon on the southern battlefield, and to leave the defence of Leipzig to Ney. He was, however, afraid to obey, because he knew that the troops which he left behind were not sufficient for the purpose; but he could not help himself. Ney also was ordered to send two bodies of troops to Liebertwolkwitz; he went there, but returned. Both marshals saw that their presence was necessary to resist the whole army of Silesia which they now had before them. He therefore returned to Moeckern, but could not hold it against the furious attack of Blücher. By nightfall they were all scattered and took refuge in Gohlis. Blücher was able to spend the night in Moeckern.

During the battle General Meerveldt had been taken prisoner by the French owing to his being short-sighted. At 2 p.m. he was brought into the presence of Napoleon, who asked him how strong the allied army was. Meerveldt replied that it was more than 350,000 men. Napoleon then asked whether the allies knew that he was there, and whether they would attack him on the morrow. To these questions Meerveldt replied in the affirmative. Napoleon asked, "Shall this war last for ever? It is surely time to put an end to it. Austria should speak the word of peace, and not listen to Russia, because Russia is under the influence of England, and England wishes for war. He was ready to make great sacrifices." Meerveldt replied that the Emperor Francis could not separate himself from his allies, that England desired equilibrium in Europe without the predominance of France. Napoleon said, "Let England give me back my islands, I will restore Hanover and re-establish the Hanseatic towns, and also restore Holland," but he would not give up the protectorate of Germany, nor would he consent to the dismemberment of Italy. Meerveldt told him that Bavaria was entirely lost to his cause; he remarked that she would repent it. He then

proposed that an emissary should be sent to treat for peace: an armistice could then be concluded, Napoleon would retire behind the Saale, the Russians and Prussians behind the Elbe, while the Austrians would retire to Bohemia. Saxony should remain neutral. Meerveldt observed that the allies would never agree to these conditions, and would not leave Saxony, even if they could not succeed in driving Napoleon over the Rhine. Napoleon said that to effect that he would have to lose another battle, and that the battle was not yet lost; he then dismissed Meerveldt with a letter to the Emperor Francis. The Emperor was very glad to see Meerveldt again because he thought that he was dead, but he said that he could only speak to him in the presence of his allies, and they refused to enter into any further negotiation.

October 17 was Sunday. Napoleon remained the whole day in his tent, but he summoned Maret from Leipzig, probably to confer with him about his conversation with Meerveldt. It is said that he was advised either to fight on the 17th or to retreat; it is probable that Napoleon remained inactive, in order to see what answer he would receive from Meerveldt. At night he had an attack of illness, and said to Caulaincourt, "I feel very unwell; my mind bears up, but my body sinks." Notwithstanding this he prepared for the battle which was to cover his retreat. At 2 a.m. he left his night quarters at Stoetteritz, and drove out to Probstheida. Having superintended the concentration of his army, and the destruction of useless ammunition at that place, he drove to his old quarters at Reudnitz, which were occupied by Marshal Ney. He found Ney and his suite fast asleep. At 5 a.m. he drove from Reudnitz through Leipzig, where he examined the arrangements for the retreat. He reached Stoetteritz again at 8 a.m. Napoleon occupied a position in the very centre of his enemies, which makes the battle of Leipzig differ from all other battles of modern times. In the early part of the day,

from daybreak up to 2 p.m., the army of Bohemia gradually advanced and drove back the French from their positions. In the meantime the army of Silesia was attacking Ney, and the army of the North, under Bernadotte, was gradually coming into action. At about 3 p.m. a great shock was given to Napoleon, and a great encouragement to the allies, by the Saxon troops, about three thousand strong, going over to the enemy. Napoleon attributed his defeat to this desertion, but it is certain that it had little influence upon the result of the day. At about the same time the Northern army, under the command of the Crown Prince of Sweden, entered upon the field of battle. There was also a body of English rocketeers, under Captain Bogue, who was killed by the French sharpshooters, and is now buried in the churchyard of Taucha.

Napoleon had ordered the retreat of his army at 11 a.m., and Bertrand superintended the departure of all non-combatants. At 5 p.m. the first bodies of cavalry began to leave the field. Napoleon, who was resting in a tobacco mill, was so tired that he fell asleep. When he woke he sent a message to the King of Saxony to say that he was sorry he could not visit him. At 6.30 p.m. the Emperor left his bivouac in complete darkness, and took up his quarters in the Hôtel de Prusse in the Ross Platz, accompanied by Murat. At 2 a.m. on the 19th the French withdrew from Probstheida, and had entirely evacuated that village by 3 a.m. They left Stoetteritz at the same time, but placed a small body of troops behind both positions. They also deserted Connewitz in a similar manner, favoured by the mist. Napoleon worked hard in the Hôtel de Prusse. He cleared Lindenau for the passage of the retreating army, and ordered three bridges to be thrown over the Pleisse, but apparently none over the Elster; he also ordered the bridge over the Elster to be mined, in order that it might be blown up if necessary. He sent messages to Dresden, to Magdeburg, and to his brother in

Westphalia to prepare them for his retreat. He also spent much time in the internal affairs of France, and only towards morning allowed himself to take a little rest.

The retreat of the French army continued during the whole night. The allies attacked and stormed the suburbs of the city between 8 a.m. and 11 a.m. At about 9 a.m. Napoleon left the Hôtel de Prusse and rode to the house in which the King of Saxony was lodging. Accompanied by the King of Naples, he conversed with the King and Queen for some time, and it is believed that he told them that he was only leaving Leipzig for a short time in order to manœuvre, and would soon return. At 9.30 a.m. Napoleon took leave of the King, mounted his horse, and rode to the battalion of the Saxon Guard. As he went away he called to them, "Gardez bien votre roi." By his side rode Murat, and behind him Berthier and Caulaincourt, with other marshals and generals. He seemed to be very much depressed. With great difficulty he left Leipzig by the Peter's Gate. Even then it took him a whole hour to reach the final exit from the town. When he arrived at Lindenau he went into the mill there with Murat, and stayed till three in the afternoon. There Macdonald joined him, and there he heard of the death of Poniatowski. He remained with the army and passed the night at Markrannstädt.

The allies entered Leipzig at midday, and were received with acclamation by the inhabitants. Poniatowski was drowned in attempting to cross the Pleisse. The King of Saxony was placed under arrest. At half-past two the conquest of the city was complete, and by four o'clock no more Frenchmen were to be seen. An hour after Napoleon had taken leave of the King of Saxony on October 19, the allied sovereigns entered the market-place. The King stood at the window to see them pass, but they took no notice of him. The three monarchs then met to

decide his fate and it was determined to send him to Berlin. Metternich was deputed to convey to him their resolution, and he has left us an account of the interview.

Napoleon retreated slowly to Weissenfels. He was so apprehensive of attack that he gave orders for the drums to be beaten and the trumpets blown during the whole night, that the allies might believe that he was preparing to resist. At Erfurt he rested two days for the repose of his troops. He found that he was in command of 80,000 men. On the road to Frankfort the French were intercepted by a force of 27,000 Bavarians and 25,000 Austrians, and continued combats took place which lasted for four days, from October 28 to October 31. The Bavarians were beaten at Hanau mainly because they fought on the wrong side of the Kinzig, and when defeated were driven into the river. They should either have met the French in the depths of the forest, or should have awaited them to attack behind the stream. Napoleon reached Frankfort in the afternoon of October 31, and Mainz on November 2. This was at that time a French town. The Emperor Alexander entered Frankfort a fortnight later, on November 15, and was followed two days later by the Emperor Francis, and then by the King of Prussia. Germany might now consider herself liberated from the government of Napoleon, and the first portion of the war was at an end.

Authorities.—The work of Aster on the battle of Leipzig has never been superseded. The present writer made a minute examination of the battlefield some years ago, when it was but little altered, and the Denkmäler were still standing. Commerce and industry obliterate the scars of the most sanguinary war. The field of Hanau is but little changed.

CHAPTER VII

THE INVASION OF FRANCE

AFTER the battle of Hanau, Napoleon stayed for a short time in Frankfort in the house of the rich merchant Simon Moritz Bethmann. As he sat at table with his host in company with Berthier and Maret, he asked Bethmann whether he had heard any special account about the late battle of Leipzig. He replied that he had only read the Emperor's bulletin. Napoleon said, "Oh! the bulletin is quite true: or do you believe that I lie? I should not dare to give a false military account, for every corporal would correct me. I beat the allies. They were strong, but the Bavarians called me back. I will never forgive them, neither them nor the Saxons. As for the others, Würtemberg for example, they follow the stream. Yes, the Confederation of the Rhine is over. I will have nothing more to do with it. It was a piece of bad political calculation to call it into existence." He then proceeded to describe the continental system as a chimera; he could not understand why he had set so much value on it. "I will never return to it. But they must not suppose that my finances will suffer in consequence. I possess three milliards. You know the cellar where I kept my private treasure—more than eighty millions in bullion. Is not it true, Duke of Bassano?" Maret made a low bow. "I have a million soldiers; France will not suffer me to conclude a bad peace. But we can reach a good peace only with moderation on the part of the allies, not otherwise."

These words were obviously said with the intention of being repeated to the distinguished persons who frequented Bethmann's house. The surrender of the Confederation of the Rhine was a capitulation to Germany, the giving up of the continental system a capitulation to England; it destroyed the reasons for the French possession of Holland and of the mouth of the Elbe, and also over the coasts of Spain and Italy.

We have already seen that in the Treaty of Teplitz of September 9, Russia, Prussia, and Austria entered into a mutual agreement to obtain by arms the dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine, and the absolute independence of the states lying between Prussia and Austria on the one hand, and the Rhine and the Alps on the other. The Rhine was fixed as the first limit of these operations. This goal was now attained. Metternich's view was that a new negotiation must be undertaken, as the objects of the existing compact had been accomplished, and it was not in the interests of Austria to go any further. England was at this time not averse to peace. The losses imposed by the continental system and the huge subsidies paid to foreign Powers had exhausted her funds and her patience, and for many years the Opposition had set themselves against the war. England was at this time represented at the Court of Vienna by a young Lord Aberdeen, whom Metternich called an "unlicked whelp." He was now with the invading army, but he spoke no language but his own. Metternich talked to him in French while he answered in English. On October 17, in the middle of the battle of Leipzig, Napoleon, as we have seen, had made certain propositions for peace to the Austrian General Meerveldt, who had been taken prisoner. Metternich was determined to take them up, and he used for the purpose, as we have already said, the Baron St. Aignan, a brother-in-law of Caulaincourt. Aberdeen agreed with Metternich, the Emperor Alexander gave his consent, and a meeting was

held in Meiningen on October 29, between Metternich, Alexander, and Aberdeen, for the discussion of the answer they should send to Napoleon. It was determined to lay down as a basis of peace the so-called "natural frontiers," the Alps, the Rhine, and the Pyrenees, a phrase of very uncertain meaning, and at the same time to issue a manifesto to the French people, stating the real objects of the war. Both the sending of envoys and the publication of the manifesto should take place before the allies arrived in France. The Rhine was not to be crossed at once, but only the fortresses besieged. If Napoleon would not accept the proposals, war would be declared against him to the knife, and his refusal would be made widely known in France.

At the beginning of November the scene was removed to Frankfort. There were collected in that city Francis I and Metternich, Alexander and Nesselrode, Duka, Wolkonsky, Hardenberg, Humboldt, and Knesebeck, also Stadion, Metternich's predecessor, who had originally formed the coalition, and Pozzo di Borgo, who had a Corsican vendetta against Napoleon, and last but not least, Stein, now in the service of Russia, and chief administrator of the conquered territories. England was represented by Lords Cathcart and Aberdeen, and by General Stewart, the brother of Lord Castlereagh. Of these, Aberdeen had statesmanship but no experience, the other two neither statesmanship nor experience. Their general feeling, as publicly expressed, was rather in favour of peace. Alexander and Metternich were the most prominent of the group; and the Emperor Francis kept in the background. Alexander called Metternich the Prime Minister of the Coalition. He was an experienced diplomatist, full of energy and industry, with a talent and a disposition for intrigue, but he had no extended knowledge of history or politics, and no exalted ideas. He might be called the "*Virtuoso of opportunism*." Stadion

was more trustworthy, and Humboldt more profound, but Metternich was more energetic and pushful. Hardenberg was a moderator, Nesselrode a person of no importance. Alexander was not very prudent or circumspect. He was apt possibly to forget, certainly to deny, what he had previously said. He had a childish devotion to his tutor Laharpe, and was much under the influence of Stein and Czartoryski. He was a high-minded, lovable, and enthusiastic, but not a very strong character. Metternich had great trouble with him.

St. Aignan was ordered to report to his sovereign in answer to the proposition made to Meerveldt that France must content herself with her "natural" boundaries, and give up all idea of supremacy in Germany, Italy, Spain, and Holland: that if Napoleon would accept these preliminaries of a general peace, England would make sacrifices in the direction of free shipping trade, and that a place could be declared neutral, on the right bank of the Rhine, where the representatives of the Powers might meet, without stopping the operations of war. This last point was considered of importance. Metternich did not believe that Napoleon would seriously accept these proposals, and ordered that all military preparations should be proceeded with. Metternich was certainly not opposed to the invasion of France. Schwarzenberg was more averse to it than Metternich, but he allowed himself to be led by Radetzky, who shared the military enthusiasm of the Prussian generals.

A plan of campaign had now to be decided upon. On November 7 two views were brought forward by Gneisenau and Radetzky. Gneisenau wished to cross the Rhine at once. Schwarzenberg with the chief army between Mainz and Strasburg was to threaten the fortresses of Landau and Hüningen, Blücher to operate in the direction of Maestricht, to attack the fortresses of Holland, Belgium, and France, and to bring about the defection of Holland. If

Switzerland declared for the allies, and if they had troops enough, an army might march into Franche Comté. This would aim a serious blow at the moral force of France. The Austrian plan was to give the troops a fortnight's rest. Then on November 20 the chief army (155,000 strong) was to march by Offenburg and Basel, to Berne, and in the middle of December by Lausanne and Geneva into France. Blücher's army (107,000 strong) was to cross the Rhine at Bonn and Cologne, march to Maestricht, and "turn" Holland so as to allow Bernadotte to conquer that country. The South German army under Wrede (100,000 strong) was to form a link between Schwarzenberg and Blücher, and to protect the middle Rhine. It might cross the Rhine, but its principal duty was to defend Germany. Bülow at Coblenz was to unite Blücher and Wrede. If the Elbe fortresses fell, Beningsen, now besieging Magdeburg, was to reinforce Bernadotte; Tauenzien, before Torgau, was to reinforce Blücher. The Italian army (68,000 strong) was to press onwards over Turin to join the chief army.

These propositions were discussed in Metternich's apartments on November 9, Hardenberg being present. It was eventually determined that the chief army should advance to the left, pass over the Rhine, penetrate into the interior of France, and give the hand to Wellington and to the army of Italy; that Blücher was not to go to Holland, but to the right over the Rhine, and occupy the enemy till the chief army had done its work. The conquest of Holland was to be left to Bernadotte, while Blücher's army was recalled from the lower Rhine, and the Austrians began to march towards Switzerland. But on November 13, Frederick William III arrived at Frankfort. He declared himself entirely opposed to the passage of the Rhine. The allies had nothing to do with the left bank. Repose was necessary; which indeed was true, as the armies were in a terrible condition. The King of Prussia was supported

in this view by the Russian generals, who did not desire to continue the war. So the operations were stopped and they waited for the result of St. Aignan's mission.

Although Metternich was in favour of crossing the Rhine his views must not be confounded with those of the Prussian patriots, Gneisenau, Blücher, and Stein, whom he styled "German Jacobins." Gneisenau had written after the battle of Leipzig to Princess Louise that the greatest joy of life is to gratify your revenge on an overbearing enemy. Metternich had no such feelings, but he had a firm conviction that Napoleon would never make peace until he was compelled to do so by force of arms, and that this could only be accomplished by crossing the Rhine. He wrote to Caulaincourt on November 20: "Napoleon will make no peace, of that I am convinced, though nothing would make me happier than to find that I am mistaken." St. Aignan's answer came in a letter from Maret, saying that Napoleon desired peace on the basis of the independence of nations, and suggesting Mannheim as the place of congress—Maret said afterwards that in his original draft, he had accepted the conditions, but that Napoleon had struck the words out. Rightly enough; for what did they mean?

The next duty of Metternich was to draw up the manifesto to the French people, which was distributed on the left bank of the Rhine in thousands of copies. Metternich tells us that nothing had ever given him so much trouble, and its composition was praised by Napoleon, who said that it showed Metternich's knowledge of the French character. It stated that the allies were unanimously agreed as to the power and even the preponderance which France ought to possess by confining herself to her natural limits, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. They do not make war against France, but against the preponderance which, unfortunately for Europe and France, Napoleon has too long exercised

beyond the limits of his empire. These sovereigns desire that France shall be great, strong, and happy. The allied Powers offer to the French empire an extent of territory which she has never known under her kings. The first use which the allies had made of their victory was to offer peace to the French Government.

Up to the present moment Alexander had profited by the great war. He had gained a slice of Prussia in 1807, a portion of Austria in 1809, Swedish Finland in the same year, and Turkish Bessarabia in 1811. It was now clear that he wished for the whole of Poland, united with Russia in a personal union. In August, 1813, Napoleon had said to Bubna, "If I did not exist, France would not be dangerous for Germany, as the French are not of a warlike disposition: it is I who urge them to it. Your real danger is from Russia." It is obvious therefore that Austria feared the aggrandizement of Russia; not only for the loss of Galicia but for the safety of its whole empire. The Poles were naturally anxious for the continuance of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, even under the sovereignty of Russia. Metternich therefore wished for peace with France because he thought that the end of the Convention of Teplitz was now attained, and he feared the effect of conquests beyond the Rhine on the balance of power in Europe. At the same time he was convinced that Napoleon would not yield except to compulsion. At this time Maret was replaced by Caulaincourt. It was generally believed in Paris that Maret, Bertrand, and Cafarelli were in favour of war, Cambacérès, Talleyrand, and Caulaincourt in favour of peace. Still more, on December 2, Napoleon sent a courier to Frankfort with a despatch in which he told Metternich that he would accept the conditions mentioned to St. Aignan if only England would make it possible to conclude a general and honourable peace, founded on the balance of power in Europe, on the integrity of nations within their natural

boundaries, and on the absolute independence of all states, without any form of supremacy by land or sea. Metternich was much surprised by this letter, which he received on December 5, and he thought that the desired result was nearly attained. He also thought it showed that Napoleon was deeply depressed; he therefore determined to go on with the war, and at the same time to begin negotiations for peace. Pozzo di Borgo was sent to London to induce either Wellesley or Canning to join in the negotiation. He wanted one plenipotentiary instead of three. Stewart wished for his brother Castlereagh, who eventually came.

On December 7 the Austrians determined to occupy Switzerland as a base of operations against France. The chief army was to assemble by the end of January between Yverdun, Berne, Solothurn, and Basle and to march on Langres. Blücher was to protect Germany, but was allowed to cross the Rhine. Wrede was to cover the right flank of the chief army, and Bülow to continue the conquest of Holland. The main army was to cross the Rhine at Basel on December 19. Switzerland was enjoying a constitution which had been given her by Napoleon, and, although the Swiss were strictly neutral, they were friendly to France. The Austrians therefore thought it most important to occupy Switzerland before they invaded France, and the Prussians and English agreed with them. Suddenly Alexander declared himself opposed to all violation of Swiss neutrality. This may have been due, as we have before remarked, to the influence of Laharpe. He went so far as to say that he should regard the occupation of Switzerland as a declaration of war against Russia. This nearly stopped operations altogether. But on December 21 the Austrians crossed the Rhine at Basel, Laufenburg, and Schaffhausen, and marched unopposed to Berne and the western passes, while Bubna occupied Geneva. By December 28 the chief army held all the Jura passes towards France, and in the first week in January reached

Besançon and Belfort, protected on their left by Bubna, who was marching from Geneva to Dôle, and on their right by Wrede, who advanced by Hüningen. Alexander was very angry at these proceedings. Bernadotte contented himself with operations against Denmark, and on January 14, in the Treaty of Kiel, Denmark renounced the possession of Norway.

Napoleon arrived at St. Cloud on the evening of November 9, 1813, and found there Marie Louise and the King of Rome. He had left 170,000 well-appointed soldiers in the fortresses of the Elbe. The princes of the Confederation of the Rhine sent ambassadors to Frankfort where the allied sovereigns had appointed representatives. In one day they signed twenty-three treaties with the smaller German princes. They had now to determine on their future policy. Stein would have nothing short of the overthrow of Napoleon. Metternich would have been contented to leave him on the throne and to confine the French power to the Rhine. He wanted a counterpoise to the threatening supremacy of Russia. Blücher was longing to enter Paris as a conqueror. At last they determined on the invasion of France, as the beginning of their second enterprise.

Napoleon was indeed in terrible difficulties, and it is instructive to see what means this great man employed to rescue himself. Maret was unpopular in France, and he was thought to be too much in favour of war, and not to have done his best to secure peace at the Congress of Prague. He was therefore, as we have said, dismissed from his position, and his place was taken by Caulaincourt, who had always been in favour of peace. The next step was to send the Pope back from Fontainebleau to Savona. The next difficulty was Spain. Ferdinand VII had been for the last six years a prisoner in the Château of Valençay. Napoleon now conceived the idea of making peace with him and sending him back to his country. The terms

suggested were the return of Ferdinand to Madrid, the surrender of prisoners, and the departure of the English. Besides this he should undertake the payment of a pension to his father, Charles IV. He should grant an amnesty to the Josefinos, as the partisans of the French were called, and Spain was to promise not to surrender any of her colonies to England; it was also proposed that Ferdinand VII should marry a daughter of Joseph Bonaparte. Ferdinand was ready to accept all these conditions except the marriage. The treaty was signed on December 11, 1813. Joseph, who was a prisoner at Mortefontaine, heard nothing about the treaty until it was concluded.

Before we approach the campaign of 1814 in France, we must review the gradual crumbling of Napoleon's empire in other parts of Europe. When the armistice of 1813 came to an end Prince Eugène had been ordered to attack Austria with 80,000 men from Carniola, and if possible to press on to Vienna. Eugène had his head-quarters in Görz, and his army extended from Trieste, beyond Laibach to Villach. He was opposed by Hiller, who had his head-quarters in Klagenfurth. Eugène did his best to defend the French cause, but after a long struggle in an obscure part of Europe, he was obliged gradually to retire until the Austrians came into possession of Friuli and the so-called Italian Tyrol. By the end of October Eugène had no fortified positions on the left bank of the Adige, except Venice, Palmanova, Osoppo, and the forts of Trieste. At the beginning of November Venice was blockaded, Trieste capitulated, and Eugène was compelled to retire to Verona. Similarly the Northern Tyrol set itself free and returned to the allegiance of Austria.

Murat, King of Naples, had fought bravely at Leipzig, but when he took leave of Napoleon at Erfurt it was seen that he meditated treachery. He returned to Naples with the determination to desert Napoleon, to go over to the

allies, and to gain for himself the whole of Italy up to the Po. The English, however, refused to have anything to do with him: Lord William Bentinck declined to receive his envoys, and called him General Murat, not king. The allied sovereigns were not so particular, and in January, 1814, sent General Neipperg to Naples to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance. Murat signed the treaty on January 11, and wrote to Kaiser Franz. A few days later he marched with his army against Ancona and Rome. In the beginning of February he stood on the south of the Po, where he was to join Bellegarde in marching against Eugène. His wife Caroline, sister of Napoleon, had the meanness to approve of his treachery. She had indeed more spirit than her husband, and urged him on like Lady Macbeth. Caroline seized the principalities of Pontecorvo and Benevento, laid an embargo on all French ships in Neapolitan harbours, turned all French out of the country, and forbade all intercourse with France. Murat himself hindered more than he helped. The English now agreed to confirm what the Austrians had done with Murat, provided that he gave substantial proofs of his honesty. Murat wavered anew. He hoped to become king of a united Italy, and entered into communication with Eugène. Caroline was so disgusted that she threatened to leave her husband and set up for herself. Thus affairs continued until Napoleon had abdicated and Eugène had made terms with the allies in Mantua. Napoleon was so enraged that he could not bear to hear Murat's name mentioned.

Another blow for Napoleon was the loss of Holland. After the battle of Leipzig, English emissaries went to Holland to rouse the population in favour of the House of Orange, and hold troops in readiness to send thither. At the same time Bernadotte was urged by the allies to employ the army of the North in liberating Hamburg, Bremen and Amsterdam. Bernadotte, however, took his

troops into Holstein in order to force Denmark to surrender Norway and Sweden. Instead of attacking Davout in Hamburg, he made a treaty with him which left him free to spare 40,000 men for the defence of Holland. England and Austria did not approve of these measures, and Bernadotte was ordered to give up the command of the 80,000 troops which he had under him. Alexander, however, took his part, as he was anxious to gain possession of Finland. Bülow was now ordered to march into Holland, and he sent Major Friccius to East Friesland to capture that territory for Prussia.

Bülow, in conjunction with Prussia and Russia, attacked Holland; Molitor defended it, having under him 600 French gens d'armes, 500 Swiss, 800 Russians, 600 Austrians and 600 Prussians, on none of whom could he depend. On November 15, 1813, the insurgents entered Amsterdam and the people rose; and in Leyden, the Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht, they did the same. The Prince of Orange landed at Schevening and was received with acclamation. Bülow now entered Belgium, where Carnot was defending Antwerp. He occupied Mons on February 16, 1814, and was then ordered to join the army of Silesia. The allies together hastened to Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent and Bruges, and were everywhere received with acclamation.

Before Napoleon could meet his enemies with confidence, he was obliged to meet his people. The Corps Législatif opened with great pomp on December 19, 1813. Napoleon addressed it to the following purpose. "Everything has turned against us. I had great plans for the happiness of the world. I hoped that by this time the Congress of Mannheim would have begun its sittings. I now call for new sacrifices." The Corps Législatif eventually declared itself by 223 votes to 59 contented with the natural frontiers of France—the Alps, the Rhine, and the Pyrenees. Napoleon was very angry with this decision,

because he saw the hollowness of the offer, and prorogued the session on December 31. The next day, January 1, he received the great officers of State. He said, amongst other things: "The true throne is a man, and I am this man: by my will, my character, my reputation, I alone can save France; you cannot. Go home and say to France, that it must fight, not for my person, but for its existence as a nation. I will place myself at the head of the army, drive back the enemy, and make peace." He then proceeded to choose certain notables, civil and military, to influence the country, and before their departure, addressed them as follows: "I am willing to confess that I have made too many wars; I had far-reaching schemes. I ventured to secure for France the Lordship of the World. I deceived myself: these plans were not consistent with the size of our population. I had to bring them all under arms, and I must admit that the limit of social conditions, and the softening of manners, does not allow me to ask a whole nation to take up arms. If I must suffer for the misfortune of having miscalculated my own chances, I will suffer for it. I will conclude peace in such a way as circumstances command, and this peace shall not be more humiliating for any one than for myself. I have been deceived; I ought to suffer, and not France; it has made no mistakes, it has shed its blood for me; it has refused no sacrifice. As for myself, I only ask for the honour of showing a very difficult courage, the courage of renouncing the greatest ambitions which have ever existed, and of sacrificing for the good of my people magnificent plans which could only be carried out by exertions which I will no longer demand."

Napoleon, who was a great master of finance, had then in hand sixty-three millions of private savings. Of these he destined seventeen millions for the Guard, ten for administration, eight for horses and munitions of war, ones for his brothers, the kings; four he would take with him,

twenty-three he would leave behind in the cellars of the Tuileries.

When the time came for Napoleon's departure he left the Empress as Regent with Cambacérès and Joseph as advisers, to take his place in case of need. The other brothers were to join the National Guard. He ordered Savary, the minister of police, to watch over his brothers, and especially to be on his guard against Talleyrand. He then took a solemn leave of the officers of the National Guard, speaking to them with his wife and son on either side of him. Early in the morning of February 25, 1814, he took leave of his wife and child for the last time, and reached Châlons-sur-Marne on the evening of the same day.

Authorities.—The guidance of Sorel has again been followed for the negotiations, supplemented by the correspondence of Castlereagh and others.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE—CHÂTILLON

AFTER his return to Paris, Napoleon had worked with all the resources of his energy and his genius to repel the invasion of his country. He had called up all the soldiers he could lay his hands upon as far back as the conscription of 1805, and had anticipated the conscription of 1815. He had established new "cohorts" of national guards, had recalled troops from Spain, and thus had collected together a force which showed on paper as 500,000. But he could hardly expect that his orders would be literally carried out. The two months' breathing space allowed him after Leipzig was not sufficient to drill these conscripts, nor even to collect them together. He was badly supplied with money, clothing, arms and all material of war. The conscripts, when they arrived at the depôts, had but scanty uniforms or none at all; many were dressed in blouses and wooden shoes, and these poor children, inexperienced and uninstructed, merely food for the enemy's cannon, in spite of the courage and devotion which they often exhibited, went by the name of "Marie-Louises."

In the darkness of all these difficulties flamed the bright star of the genius of Napoleon himself. As he had been before led from victory to victory by his good fortune, so now did the greatest qualities of his mind and character seem to derive strength from the presence of ill fortune,

1814

(From an engraving in Mr. A. M. Broadley's collection)

stimulated to greater efforts by the ever-present feeling that he was defending the soil of his country against the pollution of an invading foe. Commanding a few veterans and a few recruits, he thought to supply the deficiency by his personal qualities, by the rapidity of his movements, by the wise application of means to ends, by readiness to profit by the smallest division amongst the enemy, and by the discovery of new resources. Thus the campaign of 1814 is scarcely less brilliant than the campaign of 1796; his setting, like his rising sun, was attended by the gorgeous hues of victory. But the forces of nature, which are more powerful than those of war, which were on his side in Italy, were now opposed to him in France; it was impossible to contend successfully against an overwhelming fate.

The army of Schwarzenberg, 200,000 strong, marched into France by Besançon, Langres and Chaumont; Blücher, with 50,000 men, advanced through Lorraine to Vassy and Saint Dizier. Their design was to join their forces, and then to march upon Paris by the valleys of the Marne and the Seine. They had gradually driven back before them the small armies of Victor, Ney, and Marmont, and on January 27 Blücher reached Brienne with 30,000 men in order to join Schwarzenberg, who had arrived at Bar-sur-Aube, about ten miles distant. To protect Paris, Mortier was stationed at Troyes with 15,000 men, while at Châlons were collected about 40,000 under the command of Victor, Ney, Marmont, and Macdonald. Thus when Napoleon arrived at Châlons he found himself at the head of 55,000 men. The "Marie-Louises," who came in gradually afterwards, did not double the number, and the Imperial army never at any time contained more than 90,000 combatants.

The plan of Napoleon was to attack Blücher, who had the smaller army, before he could join Schwarzenberg, and for this purpose he marched from Châlons to Saint Dizier,

and from Saint Dizier to Brienne, in the valley of the Aube, where he came up with the Prussian marshal. After a spirited engagement he drove the Prussians from Brienne, but they retreated towards Bar-sur-Aube, where Schwarzenberg was posted, so that he would have to fight against both armies united, which together quadrupled his own. Instead of retiring he established himself at La Rothière and on the hills surrounding Brienne. The Austrian army had already moved forward to meet Blücher, and on February 1 the small forces of Napoleon were attacked by at least 150,000 of the enemy, who outflanked him on both sides, and tried to thrust him into the Aube. After a struggle of eight hours La Rothière remained in the hands of the allies. Napoleon had lost 6000 men and 54 guns, and was obliged to retreat, first to Troyes and afterwards to Nogent-sur-Seine. The allies thought that the campaign was at an end, and the officers expected to be dining in a week's time in the garden of the Palais Royal.

In a council of war held in the château of Brienne on February 2 the invaders determined to march immediately on Paris, and for this purpose divided their forces into two parts, Blücher advancing to Châlons, where he was to receive reinforcements, and then by the valley of the Marne; Schwarzenberg by Troyes and the valley of the Seine. Blücher showed that he well merited the name of "Marshal Forwards." He pressed on with all speed, hoping to arrive at Paris before Schwarzenberg. The consequence of this was that his troops were distributed over a very long line. On February 9 York was at Château Thierry with 18,000 men, Sacken at Montmirail with 20,000, Olsuviev at Champaubert with 6000, whereas Blücher with his 18,000 men had not got further than Étoges.

Napoleon was carefully following from Nogent-sur-Seine the movements of the army of Silesia, and on February 7 he despatched Marmont to Sézanne and joined him there two days later. As he had left the corps of Victor and

Oudinot on the Seine, he had with him only a body of 25,000 men. He marched by the road from Sézanne to Epernay, which passes by Champaubert and would bring him right upon the flank of the Russians. He attacked them on the following day and almost entirely annihilated them, only 1500 escaping. By this action the army of Blücher was cut completely in two, and Napoleon had the choice of turning to the right on Blücher himself, or to the left upon his lieutenants. He determined upon the latter course. He left Marmont at Champaubert to keep Blücher in check, and marched upon the corps of Sacken at Montmirail. Sacken fought bravely, but was entirely defeated with the loss of 4000 men. Napoleon then on February 12 marched against the division of York at Château Thierry. This in its turn was beaten and driven behind the Ourcq with the loss of 3000 men. Thus in three days the Emperor had scattered the greater number of Blücher's troops to the winds and had reopened his communications with Paris. He now turned upon Blücher himself, who was ignorant of what had occurred. He was advancing from Étoges to Montmirail, and Marmont was retiring slowly before him. Suddenly Marmont turned round and attacked him as he came out of Vauchamps. Then behind the troops of Marmont Blücher saw the Imperial guard advancing, and the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" uttered by 10,000 throats came upon him like a clap of thunder. Obedient to his old caution, he determined to retreat, and did so at first in good order. But Grouchy made a desperate charge upon this mass of men with 3500 cavalry, cut them down, and huddled them up in confusion. Blücher retired in disorder with the loss of 6000 men, the French loss being only 600.

The intention of Napoleon had been to pursue Blücher to Châlons, complete the destruction of his army, and then move backwards to Vitry, thus threatening the rear of the army of Bohemia. But he heard that Schwarzenberg had

driven back the forces of Victor and of Oudinot, and was threatening Paris. Jomini had indeed advised the allies to march on Paris, but, disconcerted by the fate of Blücher, they determined to "wait for the development of the manœuvres of the Emperor Napoleon." The plan of these manœuvres was formed on the battlefield of Vauchamps. On February 14 the army of Bohemia was much scattered; Wittgenstein was at Provins, Wrede at Nangis, the Würtembergers at Montereau, and the reserve between Braye and Nogent. Napoleon, on February 14 and 15, marched first back towards Meaux, and then south to Guignes, where he joined his two marshals, Victor and Oudinot, and brought his numbers up to 60,000 men. On February 17 he fell upon the enemy and drove them first on Mornant, and then on Nangis; he then sent Oudinot, Macdonald, and Victor in three directions to push the enemy before them, ordering the last to occupy the bridge of Montereau, which however he failed to do. On February 18 Napoleon hastened to repair this error, and forced the Würtembergers into Montereau, occupying the famous bridge, by which he hoped to reach the army of Schwarzenberg. The Austrians, however, thought it prudent to retire to Troyes.

On February 22 the grand army of the allies was arranged in order of battle, its right on the Seine, its left on the village of Saint Germain. It was too late for the Emperor to attack it, because all his troops had not arrived, but he had great hopes for the morrow. True, the allies were 150,000, and the French 70,000 strong, but they were demoralised by their defeat, and had a river at their back. Blücher could not come up in less than twenty-four hours, and in that time Schwarzenberg would have been beaten. Unfortunately for Napoleon, the Austrians were of the same opinion, and did not care to sacrifice a magnificent army to the glory of France. So on the following day, at five o'clock in the morning, they retreated to Bar-sur-Aube,

sending propositions for an armistice. On February 24 Napoleon entered Troyes, where he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. On February 26 the general position of the armies was as follows: Napoleon at Troyes commanded between the Seine and the Aube a force of 74,000 men, and 340 guns; the great army of the allies, reduced to 230,000 men, was retiring before him to Chaumont and Langres. On his left Blücher, with 48,000 men, was undertaking a dangerous flank march, being held in check by Marshals Marmont and Mortier with 16,000 men, with the risk of being attacked in his rear by the Emperor himself. On the right of Napoleon, General Allix defended the line of the Yonne with 2000 soldiers, and was raising the peasants of the surrounding country. Every day Paris sent fresh supplies, both of men and guns; the national guards were organizing themselves in the provinces, and the peasants were beginning a guerilla warfare. In the south, Augereau with 27,000 men had begun to take the offensive against the 20,000 men of Bubna and Lichtenstein. Augereau had express orders to occupy a position between Basel and Langres, so as to cut off Schwarzenberg's retreat. The possibility of this catastrophe caused continual disquiet to the Austrian general, and made him fear that the situation of affairs might at any time undergo a sudden change.

We must now return to the duller dealings of diplomatists. On January 6 Caulaincourt sent a letter to Metternich, saying that he was charged by Napoleon to ask for an interview, and that he wished for peace. He was told that the Emperor of Russia was absent, that Castlereagh was on his road, and that they must await his arrival. Metternich now thought that he was sure either of peace or of the deposition of Napoleon. He therefore began to slacken the warlike operations, as he did not wish to humiliate France too much. Metternich was really afraid lest, by the influence of Alexander, Bernadotte might be

put in the place of Napoleon. This would be to exchange one danger for another, or a worse. He began to feel very uncertain as to his course of action.

On January 18 Schwarzenberg occupied Langres, and Castlereagh reached the head-quarters of the allies in Basel. Castlereagh was apparently not specially anxious for the restoration of the Bourbons; he desired to preserve the supremacy of England at sea, and to strengthen the kingdom of the Netherlands by the addition of Belgium. He was opposed to the promotion of Bernadotte, and had no objection to negotiating with Napoleon, if the French people would accept him. Peace was to be preserved by a defensive union. The French should choose their own sovereign, but there must be an effective barrier by the union of Belgium with Holland.

On January 14 Metternich wrote to Caulaincourt that Castlereagh had arrived, and that he could meet him at Châtillon-sur-Seine, where they could arrange further matters. Metternich wrote to Hudelot that Austria had fulfilled and more than fulfilled her engagements of 1813, and that she was now free to take a new departure.

On January 25 Castlereagh and Metternich arrived at Langres, where Alexander had been since the 22nd, in order to press Schwarzenberg to a speedy advance on Paris. This was not his idea. He presented to the Emperor Francis a memoir against it, based both on military and political grounds. "Here we should make peace, that is my advice. Our Emperor and Stadion, Metternich and Castlereagh, are entirely of this opinion." But the Emperor Alexander said, "This is the moment of the most important decision; heaven defend us in this crisis!" King Frederick William, Hardenberg, and Knesebeck held the same views, opposed to Gneisenau and Blücher. Barclay de Tolly, Volkonsky, and Nesselrode were opposed to the view of their master. It is probable that Alexander was confirmed in his opinion by Pozzo di

Borgo and Laharpe. Castlereagh and the English representatives were in favour of a policy of moderation, a fact on which sufficient stress has not hitherto been laid. Metternich was, of course, on the side of Castlereagh. He declared strongly against a war of conquest. France should be confined within proper limits, a system of equilibrium established, Austria and Prussia be reconstructed on the lines of 1805. He put forward six questions:—

1. Are the allies prepared to sign a peace on these terms?

2. Are they agreed that Europe should negotiate with France?

3. Are they prepared, should difficulties arise, to bring the propositions of Napoleon to the knowledge of the French?

4. Will the Powers give a new master to France, or will they regard that as a matter of internal concern?

5. Will they declare in the first instance against Napoleon personally, or against his descendants and in favour of the Bourbons?

6. Are they prepared in case these views go beyond the arrangements of 1806 to formulate them and to communicate them to each other?

The Emperor Francis, after consideration, declared that he agreed with Metternich, to treat with Napoleon at once. We have seen that Prussia and England held the same view. There remained the decision of the Emperor of Russia. Nesselrode supported Metternich. Pozzo and Stein were on the other side. It was difficult for Alexander to consent, because he would have to surrender the neutrality of Switzerland and all consideration of Bernadotte. He threatened to leave Langres and advance on Paris. Metternich said that in this case Austria would desert the coalition. Upon this declaration he yielded. At the same time he left Langres with the King of Prussia. There is no doubt that his principal difficulty lay in his

desire to keep the whole of Poland and to offer Alsace to Austria in exchange for Galicia.

After the departure of the sovereigns the instructions for Châtillon were drawn up by the Ministers at Langres. They concerned mainly two points:—the future limits of France, and the general condition of the rest of Europe. As to the limits, the plenipotentiaries were first to ask for the limits of 1789, but with power to extend them to the limits of 1792. Europe was to be reinstated as a complex of great Powers in a position of complete independence, with such frontiers as they may determine with each other. Germany was to be composed of a union of sovereign princes formed together by a federal tie which assures and guarantees the independence of the country. The Swiss federation was to remain in its former limits, with an independence placed under the guarantee of the great Powers, including France. Italy was to be divided into independent States. Spain was to be governed by Ferdinand VII in its former limits. Holland was to be an independent State under the sovereignty of the Prince of Orange, with an increase of territory and the establishment of a proper frontier. France was to abandon its direct influence beyond its future limits, and the head of its government was to renounce all titles which might imply a protectorate over Italy, Germany and Switzerland. The war was to continue during the negotiations.

The plenipotentiaries went to Châtillon on February 3, Stadion representing Austria; Rosumovsky, Russia; Cathcart, Stewart and Aberdeen, England; Humboldt, Prussia. Stadion was in favour of peace, but he was opposed to giving Saxony to Prussia, which Metternich favoured. Humboldt was not liked by Metternich, who thought him a pedant. Rosumovsky was inclined to the views of Pozzo and Stein. Metternich had wished that England should have only *one* representative instead of a Sanhedrim of three, as Hardenberg called it. But Castle-

reagh did not desire to be present, and there is no doubt that they would all act according to his inclinations. The failure of the Congress showed that a system of revolutionary conquest was not compatible with a system of legitimate equilibrium.

Châtillon was now in the power of the allies, and Caulaincourt's couriers could only pass by favour. The head-quarters of the allies were advanced from Langres to Chaumont. On January 4 Napoleon had written instructions for Caulaincourt which accepted the principle of "natural frontiers," but demanded Tuscany for Joseph Bonaparte, Lucca and Piombino for Elisa; a recompense for Jerome; Elba and Corsica, and perhaps also Piedmont and Geneva, for France, as well as part of Holland. The kingdom of Italy was to remain one and undivided, excepting that the Pope was to return to Rome if he consented to recognize the Concordat of 1813. He argued that the increase in the French dominions was only an equipoise to what had been gained by Russia, Prussia, Austria in Poland, and by England in India. Under the influence of the defeat at La Rothière, Napoleon wrote to Caulaincourt, "As soon as the allies have communicated to you their conditions, you are free to accept them, or to refer to me in twenty-four hours." A few hours later, after midnight, Maret wrote again to Caulaincourt: "His Majesty orders me to tell you that he gives you carte blanche to conduct the negotiations to a good end, to save the capital and avoid a battle in which the best hopes of the nation are at stake." The next day Maret wrote again: "You are to accept the bases if they can be accepted: if not, we will run the risk of a battle and even of the loss of Paris, and all that it implies."

Châtillon was not a very comfortable place for the diplomats. The market was avoided by the peasants because of the neighbourhood of the armies, and the diplomats had to bring provisions with them. They

heard very little of what was going on. Although Caulaincourt pressed for an earlier meeting, the conditions drawn up at Langres were not communicated to him till February 7. Caulaincourt might now accept or refuse them. He did neither, being afraid of so much responsibility, but referred matters to the Emperor. He was obliged to temporize. He said, "I refuse nothing, but I wish precise declarations. France will make sacrifices to get peace as soon as possible; only tell me what the sacrifice is to be. Does the limit of the old frontiers include the colonies which France possessed before 1792 and then lost?" This was done to gain time. He also said that if Belgium and the Rhine provinces were demanded, he would like to know what was to be done with them. He also asked whether if he accepted the proposals the war would be really at an end. Aberdeen said that he must consider this question. This made Caulaincourt ask for an adjournment. It was certain that the allies, like Napoleon, were waiting upon events. Whilst they sat at dinner a courier arrived from head-quarters. Rosumovsky received news that Herzogenbosch was conquered, that Bülow had marched through Brussels, and was in full advance upon France; that Chernichev had occupied Givet and Philippeville, while Stewart heard that the Austrians had taken Troyes, and that the Cossacks were on the march to Fontainebleau.

When they met again at 8 p.m. Caulaincourt read a declaration in which he declared himself ready to give his views on the proposals of the allies if he might learn the compensation which France was to receive for her sacrifices—and what was to be done with them, because it was impossible to decide on one question without knowing all the others. This, which was reasonable, was taken by the allies *ad referendum*. At this Caulaincourt, who behaved with great moderation, found it difficult to restrain his impatience. The conference broke up with-

out fixing another day for meeting. It is unfair to blame Caulaincourt for not having made peace on February 7, because the allies would undoubtedly have temporized.

On February 8, news was brought that the allies had entered Châlons, and that Blücher was marching on Paris. The plenipotentiaries dined with Stewart. After dinner they had a discussion with Caulaincourt as to the terms of the preamble of his declaration. They then discussed alone what answer they should give to Caulaincourt. On February 9, Caulaincourt opened his heart to Floret. He said that he was basely treated, that his couriers were intercepted or compelled to make detours, and that he could not keep up a proper communication with Napoleon. "You trample me under foot, you put me to torture. I have only a cannon of six against a battery of sixteen. It is not generous to treat the weak in this way. You ask for sacrifices, I want to know what you are going to do with them: I ask whether these sacrifices will put an end to the war, you reply by subtleties. You want to go to Paris, but you do not know what you are doing. You are stirring up a revolution. You gave Marie Louise to the Emperor to finish the revolution, and now you are beginning it again." Rayneval spoke in a similar strain: "You are lighting a fire which you will not be able to extinguish, and which may go further than you think. I do not fear the Bourbons, that is a chimera; I fear a new upturning of social order. You are relighting the revolution. You will end by having no Government to treat with, and no army to fight. This revolution may go further than you think. All people are weary and poisoned against their sovereign. The cry of independence will unite them. Do you think that the Italians desire a master? No! they will rise for their independence. You have the choice of setting fire to the four corners of Europe, or of making peace in twenty-four hours. Austria has won a glorious position. What will

posterity say if, instead of making peace, you made war for the sake of war, and set the world in conflagration for many years to come! France now wishes for peace, she is ready to make great sacrifices for it. You took up arms for peace and now you refuse it. If you ask for securities, they shall be given you." Floret made no answer to these remarks.

Alexander now determined to break off the conference. This was announced by Rosumovsky on February 9. There was a general expression of surprise. Stadion and Metternich were greatly disappointed; but they did not care to oppose the Tsar. On the morning of February 10 they sent a courier to Caulaincourt that the Emperor of Russia had provisionally interrupted the conferences because he wished to ascertain more precisely the views of his brother sovereigns on the situation, but that the sittings would be resumed before long.

Alexander did this that he might not be interrupted in the march upon Paris. He agreed with Blücher and Gneisenau that Napoleon could not really prevent this, and he thought that it would be quickly accomplished. Stadion wrote to Metternich that they had been made fools of: what was the good of bringing to Châtillon two foreign ministers and six plenipotentiaries for such a wretched conclusion? Even before this happened Castlereagh left Châtillon for Troyes, in order to consult the ministers of the allied Powers. Metternich, with a similar object, invited Hardenberg to Troyes to confer with himself, Metternich, and Nesselrode on the situation. It was indeed high time that they should do so.

Just at the time when Alexander was breaking off the negotiations at Châtillon, a dramatic scene was being enacted at Nogent-sur-Seine. Caulaincourt's letter from Châtillon arrived on the evening of February 7. Napoleon read the letter, crushed it in his hands, and retired to his room. Maret and Berthier found him there, one of his

hands supporting his forehead, the other lying idle beside him, still holding the letter. They spoke to him of peace. "What!" he cried, "sign a treaty like this and disregard my coronation oath! I might restore my own conquests, but to abandon those of the Republic, and violate what was entrusted to me with so much confidence! to leave France smaller than I found her! Never! What will France think of me if I sign her humiliation? What can I answer to the republicans of the Senate if they ask for their frontier of the Rhine? You are afraid of the continuation of the war, I of more certain dangers which you do not perceive." He saw clearly that the acceptance of the "natural limits" implied the return of the old monarchy, dethronement for himself, exile for his friends, captivity for his son.

He walked hastily up and down the room, and suddenly stopping, cried, "Say what you will, I will never sign." Eventually he seemed to yield a little, and went to bed. He could not sleep. Again and again he summoned his servant, now asking for a light, now breaking into transports of agitation. The vision of the inevitable future haunted him like a nightmare. At four o'clock on that dreary winter morning he wrote to his brother Joseph:—

"Paris shall never be occupied whilst I am alive. Beware of Talleyrand, he is the greatest enemy of our house. If I fight a battle and am killed, you shall have the first news. Send the Empress and the King of Rome to Rambouillet, do not let them fall into the hands of the enemy. I would rather see my son murdered than be educated at Vienna as an Austrian prince. I have never seen the play of Andromache without having lamented the fate of Astyanax surviving the ruin of his house."

At daybreak, Napoleon leapt from his bed, bent over his maps, compass in hand, marking the march of the armies with pins. When Maret brought to him for signature a conciliatory letter for Caulaincourt, he cried: "Oh!

here you are! I am now otherwise employed. I am beating Blücher. I shall beat him to-morrow, and the day after to-morrow, and the face of things will change. There will always be time to make such a peace as they propose to us." Then followed the success after success, victory after victory, which eventually made him master of Troyes.

Authorities.—From the beginning of the year 1814 we have the invaluable assistance of Houssaye, whose four volumes, combining the highest qualities of style and erudition, are indispensable for a knowledge of the period. Fournier's work on the Congress of Châtillon has also been of great service. Sorel has also been consulted.

CHAPTER IX

THE CONGRESS OF CHÂTILLON

THE main object of the Emperor Alexander was to get to Paris as soon as possible, and he saw in the negotiations of Châtillon nothing but a hindrance to this plan. Castlereagh felt that it was necessary to settle without delay the important questions, whether Napoleon was to be retained upon the throne, and, if not, whether the French nation was to have the free choice of his successor; what was to be the object sought for in the present war; and, further, what form the new order of Europe was to take. The easiest solution would be the restoration of Prussia and Austria to their condition before 1805, and a reasonable compensation to Russia for her sacrifices.

Castlereagh arrived at Troyes on February 10. On February 8 Schwarzenberg sent his Emperor a memoir in which he argued that Napoleon was by no means beaten, that his forces were daily increasing, while those of the allies were diminishing, and that it was advisable at least to have an armistice. Francis was rather in favour of an immediate peace. Metternich now laid down seven questions which he desired should be settled at Troyes. (1) What answer is to be given to Caulaincourt? Is this answer to be negative or dilatory? (2) Are the powers to declare for Louis XVIII or leave the initiative to the French? (3) How is the opinion of the French nation to be ascertained? (4) What limit of time is to be set to

their decision? (5) If Paris declares for the Bourbons, and Napoleon still remains at the head of an army, are the Powers to support the Bourbons or make peace with Napoleon? (6) What attitude are the Powers to hold in the meantime with regard to Louis XVIII, the Count d'Artois, the emigrés, and Royalists generally? (7) If Paris is conquered, what government is to be established there? Are we to place a garrison there? If so, who is to be in command?

In answer to these questions Hardenberg was on the side of peace, and the King of Prussia agreed with him. Nesselrode expressed the contrary opinion: an armistice was to be refused. The question of dynasty was to be left to the initiative of the French, to be settled as soon as the allies arrived in Paris. If Paris was in favour of Napoleon, the allies were to make peace with him. In the meantime a governor was to be appointed, if possible a Russian. These views were strongly opposed by Metternich, he being in favour of an arrangement with Napoleon if possible. With regard to the dynastic question, Austria was in favour of Louis XVIII, whereas Alexander would have preferred the Duc d'Orleans or the Duc de Berry. Castlereagh was in favour of peace and against an appeal to the French nation. He supported an armistice if it was understood that it was a preliminary to peace. It appears, therefore, that Austria, Prussia, and England were agreed to make an armistice with qualifying conditions, to resume the negotiations at Châtillon, and to press on peace with Napoleon. These reasons were strengthened by the evidence given by Napoleon that his power was not yet broken.

Thus on February 17, after Napoleon's successes, Nesselrode was still stubborn in his opinion. Metternich declared that he could not put up with this tyranny, and that Austria would sign a peace by herself. By the mediation of Hardenberg a protocol in answer to Caulaincourt

was agreed to by the three Powers in favour of an armistice. The armistice was to last for two weeks, with four days' notice of denunciation; the fortresses of Bergen-op-Zoom, Antwerp, Luxemburg, Mainz, Mantua, Hüningen, and Besançon were to be given up, a limit of demarcation to be fixed, and France was to declare that she would accept the limits of 1792. Nesselrode refused to sign this. Alexander said that he had received a private communication from the Prince Regent against an armistice with Napoleon, and in favour of the restoration of the Bourbons. This led to stormy scenes. Castlereagh said that a private communication from the Prince Regent could not override his instructions. The Tsar sent a memoir, evidently drawn up by Pozzo, strongly urging the necessity of the overthrow of Napoleon, and refusing the suggestion of an armistice. This paper was signed by Nesselrode.

Metternich was determined to isolate Alexander, but Frederick William declared that he could not desert him. However, a secret treaty was made between Prussia and Austria which contained the following conditions: (1) The limits of 1792; no interference in the dynastic question, excepting that if the French desired a younger member of the Bourbon house, the allies should only support him in case Louis XVIII resigned the crown. (2) Peace to be made with Napoleon either at Châtillon or on the march. (3) A military governor of Paris to be named by Russia, with a board including the other Powers. Paris to be garrisoned. (4) The treaty to remain secret, but to be communicated to Castlereagh. Castlereagh agreed to this, and the question was how to convince Alexander. After long arguments from Metternich he yielded. He gave up the idea of a national assembly in Paris, and consented to the resumption of negotiations in Châtillon, but instead of an armistice asked for guaranteed preliminaries of peace, which Metternich did not object to.

On February 14, Alexander and Frederick William left Troyes to go to the head-quarters of the allies at Pont-sur-Seine. Metternich sent to obtain Alexander's agreement in writing, as he thought that his simple word was not to be trusted. However, on February 15, a satisfactory paper arrived, signed by Alexander. Castlereagh was already at Châtillon. Here he signed a convention with Prussia and Austria, with the following conditions: (1) That Belgium should be given to Holland. (2) That the King of Sicily was to be compensated. (3) That the warships in the surrendered harbours should not be given back to France, and that Austria should receive a large territory in Italy.

The new conditions for the preliminaries at Châtillon were laid down as follows:—All conquests since 1792 were to be surrendered, and Napoleon was to renounce all constitutional influence outside France, mediate or immediate, and all foreign titles. The independence of all European States was to be recognized, as well as the new order of Europe with regard to Germany, Italy, Holland, Switzerland, and Spain, and of the arrangements made by the continental Powers. England was to give up All Saints' Islands, Mauritius, Barcelona, and all conquests made since 1792, on the condition that France was not to fortify any territory east of the Cape, and was to import no slaves; Guadeloupe and Cayenne were to fall to France, Malta to remain with England. After the signing of the preliminaries, Napoleon was to surrender all fortresses in the central territories and in Germany, especially Mainz, Hamburg, Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom, in six days; Mantua, Palmanova, Venice and Peschiera, the Oder and Elbe fortresses in fourteen days; and the rest in corresponding periods. In four days he was to give up Besançon, Belfort and Hüningen as guarantee for the signing of a definite peace. Hostilities were to cease immediately on signing the preliminaries. A line of de-

marcation was to be drawn, and the ratifications were to be exchanged in four days. This draft was sent to Aberdeen. The first meeting was fixed for the evening of February 17.

Castlereagh and Aberdeen were favourable to the French, but Rosumovsky made difficulties. The plenipotentiaries met at 9 p.m. Caulaincourt did not like the surrender of the three French fortresses. He wished for a compensation for Eugène, and for some guarantee for the Kings of Saxony and Westphalia. Caulaincourt now desired delay, whereas the allies were in a hurry to conclude. Things were not looking well for the allies, and matters went so far that Schwarzenberg proposed an armistice to Berthier. When Metternich heard of this he was beside himself, and hastened to Troyes. But by this time Napoleon had changed his mind. He withdrew the full powers which he had given to Caulaincourt, and fell back on the "natural frontiers." Humboldt, indeed, saw that France might accept humiliating conditions, but that Napoleon would never accept them—it would deprive him of all his glory. Humboldt thought the conditions hard. Indeed, the action of Schwarzenberg had thrown everything into confusion. It seemed that the Congress could do nothing, and that everything depended on the future of the war.

Colonel Paar, who had been sent by Schwarzenberg to propose the armistice, was not allowed to approach Berthier, and was kept at Braye for three days waiting for an answer which did not come. In the meantime the French continued to advance, and the allies were greatly discouraged. Schwarzenberg had to retire. A council of war was held early on February 23, in the quarters of the King of Prussia. Napoleon had written to Francis from Nogent on February 21 a letter in which he offered to make peace on the basis of the Frankfort proposals. Any Frenchman, he said, would rather die than accept conditions

which would depose France from the rank of a great Power. On the same day he wrote to Augereau: "I have destroyed 30,000 of the enemy with battalions composed of conscripts with no knapsacks. If you are still the Augereau of Castiglione, keep your command; if your sixty years weigh upon you, give it up. The country is in danger, and can only be saved by audacity. You must resume your boots and the resolution of '93." Paar also brought a letter from Berthier to Schwarzenberg, saying that peace had not been signed at Châtillon on February 16. Schwarzenberg supposed that France was now in a better military position than the allies. After a short discussion, Wenzel Lichtenstein was sent to the French headquarters and returned before evening with the news that Napoleon agreed to an armistice. Napoleon wrote to Joseph: "They seem to be afraid of a decisive battle." On February 24 the negotiators met at Loigny; they consisted of Flahaut, Duka, Schuvalov, and Rauch. Napoleon said that he would only grant an armistice if the declarations of Frankfort were accepted as the preliminaries of peace. This made the arrangement impossible, as soldiers could not discuss questions of politics. It was also agreed that warlike operations were to go on during the discussions. No negotiations were therefore practicable; but according to his instructions Flahaut was detained for the rest of the day.

Alexander now proposed to the King of Prussia to undertake the march on Paris with the Russians and Prussians alone. The Tsar wished to withdraw the Russian troops from Schwarzenberg, and give them to Blücher. He asked Knesebeck's advice, and he urged him to refuse. Knesebeck was strongly in favour of peace.

On the morning of February 27, a council of war was held in Bar-sur-Aube, in apartments of the King of Prussia. The three sovereigns were present, with Metter-

nich, Hardenberg, Castlereagh, and Nesselrode, together with Schwarzenberg, Wolkonsky, Diebich, Radetzky, and Knesebeck. Alexander made his proposition, which was supported by Frederick William III, but by no one else. They then proposed a decisive battle at Bar-sur-Aube; that fell to the ground. They agreed unanimously to a plan presently put forward by Grollmann. Blücher should continue his march to the Marne, Winzingerode and Bülow being under his orders; the main army was to retreat to Langres, the south army to march against Augereau and Maison, in order to secure the possession of Geneva; Bernadotte and the Duke of Weimar with the Saxons were to leave Belgium to support the army of Silesia. Part of the chief army was transferred to Blücher, and there were to be three armies, according to the original plan. The feeling amongst the allies was by no means friendly or unanimous.

After this, new conditions were drawn up for Châtillon. These were eventually dated Chaumont, February 29, 1814, and signed by Metternich, Castlereagh, Hardenberg and Nesselrode. The main point was that they should settle with Caulaincourt the time necessary for communicating with Napoleon, and assure him that any further delay would be regarded as a refusal of peace. At the same time they were to inform him verbally that they were ready to discuss modifications with him, but that they could not receive any proposal which differed essentially from the preliminaries presented to him. If such were put forward, they must have recourse to the fate of arms. Castlereagh wrote similarly to Aberdeen. The Emperor Francis answered Napoleon's letter of February 20 on February 27. He said that peace could only be made on the basis of European equilibrium, and he defended Alexander against the accusation of revenge. Châtillon now became involved in the burthen of war. On February 23 and 24 there passed through that town

on the way to Dijon carriages with wounded soldiers and flying troops. It soon became outside the sphere of the coalition, and was garrisoned by the national guard.

The plenipotentiaries met again at Châtillon on February 27 to discuss their new instructions. They found that Caulaincourt had been wrongly reported in them, as having proposed conditions for a peace which only referred to an armistice; how, therefore, were they to proceed? Lord Aberdeen said that he could not put his hand to a lie. Humboldt said that the responsibility of the lie lay with those who gave them the powers. Cathcart agreed with him. Rosumovsky said that he should vote with the majority. Stadion suggested that they might refer to the letter of Caulaincourt without actually quoting it, and this was accepted.

They met Caulaincourt on the following day, at noon, and Stadion read a declaration. Caulaincourt said that he was expecting every day a letter from Napoleon, and that he did not then know where he was. He asked for a delay till March 10. Caulaincourt had not indeed received a letter from Napoleon, but one was on the way, Napoleon had entered Troyes with the enthusiasm of the population on February 25, and had written on February 26, to the effect that he would negotiate on the Frankfort basis alone, surrendering neither Belgium nor Antwerp. He would not occupy Châtillon with his soldiers, unless the allies desired it. The national guard might continue as garrison, and the officers officiate as governors. Castlereagh might correspond by way of Calais, Caulaincourt could go on with the negotiations. Blücher had marched to Sézanne, but Ney would attack him in the rear. Napoleon said, "Let them think that I am at Vandamme, that is in pursuit of the main army." Fortune was, however, now to take another turn.

On March 10, 1814, a new treaty between the allies was signed at Chaumont, between the four Powers, Russia,

Austria, England, and Prussia, which was afterwards antedated March 1. Castlereagh called it "my treaty." Münster and Metternich recognized its paramount importance. It governed Europe until 1848, and was a constant check upon France. Sorel said that it formed the executive of Europe, of which the treaties of Paris and Vienna were the constitution. It was a warlike alliance, for the purpose of exacting by arms the conditions which had been laid before France in the preliminaries, with the utmost severity. For this purpose each of the signatory states was to provide 150,000 men, and England was to pay a subvention of five millions for the year 1814. None of the allies was to make a separate peace with France. Each one had the right of sending a military commisioner to the different armies, and of receiving an account of what went on. If peace were made and a further attack followed from the side of France, the allies were to assist each other with 60,000 men. The alliance was to last for twenty years, and it might be joined by other Powers who were exposed to French invasion. Especially mentioned were Spain and Portugal, Sweden and the House of Orange; and other Powers according to the exigency of the case. It had been intended to include by name Hanover and Bavaria, but Alexander pressed, in that case, for the inclusion of Würtemberg, which the other Powers would not consent to, so that the expression was left vague. Another separate article referred to Germany, Italy, Spain, Holland and Switzerland. In Germany the sovereign princes were to be united by a federal tie, which secured and guaranteed its independence. Holland was to receive besides an extension of territory, "une frontière convenable." A third separate article provided that after the conclusion of peace with France a common force of the allies should be kept in the field for the security of the arrangements which they were to make with each other. As said above, the treaty is dated March 1, but it was

not actually signed till March 10. It was called a defensive alliance, but it was in reality offensive, if Napoleon did not accept the terms offered to him, and remained defensive after he had accepted them. It laid the foundation of the common action of the allies after the return from Elba. It was at first intended that England should not offer troops, but only a subvention of five millions, but Castlereagh tells us, "My modesty would have prevented me from offering it; but as they chose to make us a military power, I was determined not to play a second fiddle." It was understood that whatever became of Belgium it was not to return to Austria.

We must not suppose that the Treaty of Chaumont breathed a new spirit into the allies; the dispute between Alexander and Schwarzenberg still continued. Metternich was impatient at the conduct of the Austrian general. He writes to Stadion on March 13: "You have not an idea what our head-quarters make us undergo. I can't stand it any longer, and the Emperor has been made ill by it. They are all mad, and ought to be put in an asylum. We are all treated as if we desired to sell the monarchy, as if we had a great interest to be beaten and eaten, as if Austria *ordered* the slavery of the foreigners, as if, in one word, we were imbeciles. I believe that we are the only ones who are not mad. Perhaps we are also, for it is a sign of madness to believe that one has one's senses. May God lead us to a speedy end! If military operations go well, and it now seems to be the case, we shall reach it." Burghersh wrote to the Prince Regent that he wished that Schwarzenberg were back on the Rhine. Just at this time came the catastrophe of Laon and Soissons.

In the meantime Metternich was pressing Caulaincourt to make peace, and he sent Paul Esterhazy to Châtillon for that purpose. He repeated his urgent arguments on March 8. Caulaincourt in his heart quite agreed with him. Things were really very bad: the French funds had sunk

to 50. He saw that the sacrifice must be made, and that matters were no longer in the same condition as in Frankfort. He therefore wrote to Napoleon in this sense, and he was supported by the representations of Joseph, who had remained in Paris. Napoleon, however, was stubborn in his resistance. Stadion wrote to Metternich on March 9: "Our good Duke (Vicence) really wishes for peace, but he has no power, absolutely none, over his master. We are wasting our time here with him. The departure of the plenipotentiaries, and a manifesto to the French people in which all responsibility is thrown on the shoulders of the Emperor, would lead sooner to peace." Humboldt wrote in the same sense to Hardenberg.

On the afternoon of March 10 Rumigny brought a long letter from Maret, dated Braye in the Laonnais, March 8. It was written under the impression of the battle of Craonne. Napoleon was not unwilling to make sacrifices, and wished the congress to continue. He might give up Wesel, Castel, or Kehl; Castel, of course, with its fortifications razed. The Emperor desired peace, but not with dishonourable conditions. The despatch was intercepted by the Austrians and copied. It showed with how small sacrifices Napoleon hoped to secure peace. On the same day he sent a second despatch to Caulaincourt offering to destroy the fortifications of Mainz, to give up the *thalweg* of the Rhine, the Isle de France or Réunion. He would surrender all claims in Germany or Italy for his brother, if something could be done for Eugène in Italy. He would give even more than this; but he could not accept the proposals of the allies. Caulaincourt was convinced that these concessions were not sufficient.

Metternich, like Napoleon, was anxious that the congress should continue. He desired peace now, and, with Napoleon, principally with the object of defeating the plans of Russia. It is true that the candidature of Bernadotte had been surrendered by Alexander, but he desired, influenced by Pozzo, the restoration of the Bour-

bons, perhaps the Duke of Berry, who was to marry Alexander's sister, the Grand Duchess Anne. Austria, on the other hand, desired to keep Napoleon on the throne of France. Metternich considered that the restoration of the Bourbons was more in the interest of Russia and England than in that of Austria, or of Europe generally. Metternich therefore endeavoured to keep the threads of the negotiation in his own hands.

The six plenipotentiaries met in the evening of March 10. When the protocol of the last meeting had been signed Caulaincourt read a memoir, very cleverly composed, probably by La Besnadière from the notes of Napoleon. It set out with the conditions of Frankfort, and the "old frontiers." Everything had changed since the "*ancien régime*"; other nations regained extension, and France should have some compensation. France could not be expected to sacrifice her honour, and that would suffer if she did not obtain reasonable terms, both for herself and for her allies. When Caulaincourt had finished, a deep silence followed. Stadion asked whether the memoir implied the renunciation of the proposals of the allies of February 17. Caulaincourt said, No! Caulaincourt added that his memoir was a refutation, not a refusal. When the conference was about to break up, Caulaincourt said that Napoleon was ready to renounce every title that implied sovereignty or suzerainty or constitutional influence outside France. He recognized the independence of Spain in its old limits under Ferdinand VII, of Italy and Switzerland under the guarantee of Europe, of Germany, of Holland under the House of Orange, and was ready to give up colonial possessions in return for a compensation from England. It was seen that he avoided the precise mention of the limits of France, Holland and Italy. His remarks were received with silence. The plenipotentiaries departed without knowing whether the conference would be resumed or not.

On March 11 Caulaincourt complained to Floret that

the Austrians did not support him in his efforts for peace. He said that he had two negotiations to conduct—one with the Austrians and one with the Emperor, and that the second was the more difficult of the two. "Prince Metternich has obtained the highest position a man can occupy; he is the man of Europe. Does he not feel that he will lose this glory if he does not complete his work; and that if he fails the world will judge him severely?" Metternich now had the idea of breaking off the congress, of summoning Caulaincourt and Stadion to head-quarters and making peace in twenty-four hours, and Stadion was inclined to agree with him; Metternich therefore gave up the congress, but not the hope of peace. He said that Caulaincourt must declare in twenty-four hours whether he accepted the preliminaries or not, otherwise the congress was at an end.

The plenipotentiaries met again on March 13. Stadion put before Caulaincourt three propositions—to accept the preliminaries, to reject them, or to make a counter-project. Caulaincourt replied that France had already surrendered 7,000,000 of men absolutely, and her influence over 60,000,000. They were treating him like a beleaguered city. France would surrender all her departments beyond the Alps and make concessions to the English. Stadion rejoined that he must have a categorical answer. Eventually Caulaincourt asked for a delay till the evening. At the evening sitting Caulaincourt said that he wished to make a counter-project, but he asked leave to communicate with Napoleon. This was refused, and he then said that he would bring forward the counter-project in twenty-four hours. On March 15 Caulaincourt presented his counter-project. Napoleon gave up all foreign titles, Illyria, and all departments beyond the Alps, except the Isle of Elba, and the Rhine. also the crown of Italy, and recognized the independence of Germany, Switzerland, Spain, Italy and Holland. Holland should be enlarged, the Pope was to have everything as far as the principality of

Benevento; but Eugène Beauharnais was to continue in Italy, Elisa to have Lucca and Piombino, Berthier the principality of Neufchatel, and the King of Saxony to be restored, also the Grand Duke of Berg. Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck, Danzig, and Ragusa were to be free states, the Ionian Islands to belong to the kingdom of Italy. France to keep her colonies, but to make some sacrifices to England. The fate of the ceded territories was to be left to another congress. In three or five days after the ratification the foreign troops were to leave France.

Caulaincourt read his counter-project with deep emotion, and was listened to with absolute silence. When he had finished, Stadion said that the allies could not go into all details, but must first consider it as a whole. Caulaincourt had expected that his project would be taken *ad referendum*, and sent to head-quarters. When he heard that this was not thought necessary his lips quivered and he lost his self-control. He knew that the negotiation was at an end. Nothing was said about Belgium and Antwerp to satisfy the English, about Mainz and the Rhine provinces to satisfy the Prussians, and the arrangements about Italy were not likely to be satisfactory to the Austrians. Besides, at this time the victories of Blücher over Napoleon, of Bianchi over Augereau, and of Wellington over Soult, were known. The counter-project was sent to the head-quarters at Bar. The ministers met on March 16. They were very angry at the counter-project — Metternich worked all night to draw up a reply. The next day it was accepted by the allies, who sent it to Châtillon with orders to leave the town.

One must not suppose that Metternich, in giving up the congress, gave up the hope of peace. Indeed, he thought that the influence of Caulaincourt with Napoleon would be better than that of Maret. Stadion or Floret was to assure Caulaincourt that in Metternich's opinion the breaking up of the congress would serve the ends of peace. At midday on March 18 the congress was declared at an end.

Caulaincourt did not stay at Châtillon as he had intended. He wrote to Metternich on March 25 that he hoped to come to the head-quarters of the allies and conclude peace, but received a very abrupt answer written on March 27. Metternich had been forced to give up his plan. The opinion of the allies began to turn in favour of the Bourbons. Shortly after this followed on March 22 the interception of Napoleon's letter to Marie Louise, and the decision of the allies to march on Paris.

At Saint Dizier on March 28 Napoleon had an interesting conversation with an Austrian diplomat, Wessenberg, who had been taken prisoner. He said: "I am ready to make great sacrifices. I surrender Spain, I renounce Germany, Italy, Switzerland; I will recognize the Prince of Orange in Holland, although I should have preferred a republic; I consent to the aggrandizement of Holland. I am ready to give up all my colonies if I may have the mouth of the Scheldt. England cannot demand this, unless supported by Austria. Austria has nothing more to wish for; she will obtain all she desires in Poland, Italy, and Germany. Can Metternich forget that my marriage with an Austrian princess is his work? Your Emperor cannot love his daughter; if he loved her he would not be insensible to her sorrows. I made a great political mistake in marrying her. If I had married a Russian princess, I should not be where I am. But she is an incomparable woman. Her regency and that of the senate will be preferable to that of the Bourbons. If Austria is entrusted with full powers, peace will be made in two hours." This was to offer an Austrian regency as the price of an abdication; but the allies, under the influence of Alexander, had decided on the deposition of their enemy.

Authorities.—Sorel, Fournier, and Houssaye are the principal authorities for this chapter, together with Bernhardi's Memoir of General Toll, which is of the highest value.

CHAPTER X

THE CAPTURE OF PARIS

THE success of the French arms at this time was confined to Champagne, and the enemy was slowly advancing on other points of the frontier. In Belgium General Maison, with his small body of 15,000 men, was obliged to retire before the Duke of Saxe-Weimar with 30,000, supported by the army of the North under Bernadotte. Antwerp, commanded by the famous Carnot, was besieged. In the Pyrenees Marshal Soult, with 50,000 conscripts, was no match for the 80,000 soldiers of Wellington. His gradual retreat has already been narrated. In Italy Prince Eugène was holding his own with difficulty against the Austrians on the Adige. After La Rothière the Emperor thought of recalling him, but his subsequent victories made him change his determination, and Eugène remained in Italy. On the other hand, Marshal Suchet was in command of 15,000 men in Spain, who, after the ratification of the Treaty of Valençay, would be available for service in France.

Under the pressure of the victories of Napoleon the allies formed some important resolutions at Bar-sur-Aube on February 25. They determined that Blücher should resume his march on Paris by way of Meaux, and that he should be supported by the corps of Bülow and Winzingerode, both of them forming part of the army of the North, which now began to enter upon the scene. Also

to support Bubna they gave orders for a new corps to enter Switzerland under the command of the Prince of Hesse, to neutralize the efforts of Augereau. These two determinations were of the utmost importance, and indeed eventually decided the issue of the campaign in favour of the allies.

As soon as the plan of action had been decided upon, Blücher put himself in motion to proceed from the Aube to the Marne, inclining slightly towards the north to meet the reinforcements which he had been told to expect. Marmont and Mortier did their best to hold him in check, but they were forced to retire. On February 28 he crossed the Marne at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre, while the two French marshals retired behind the Ourcq, which they held against the advancing Prussians. Blücher, on reaching the right bank of the Marne, found no traces either of Bülow or of Winzingerode, and he soon learnt that he would be attacked by Napoleon in person.

The Emperor had desisted from the pursuit of the Austrians on February 26, leaving 40,000 men on the Aube under the command of Oudinot and Macdonald. Setting out from Troyes on February 27, he reached Sézanne on the following day, and arrived at La Ferté-sous-Jouarre on March 2 with an army of 35,000 fighting men. If Blücher had not taken the precaution to destroy the bridge across the Marne, the army of Silesia would have been destroyed. But he was now able during the next two days to cross the Ourcq and to retire upon the Aisne. His soldiers were in the worst extremity of fatigue and misery. In seventy-two hours they had fought three battles and made three night marches; they had received no regular supply of provisions for a week. Some of the cavalry had not unsaddled for ten days; the horses were in a terrible condition; the artillery stuck hopelessly in the muddy roads, and quantities of ammunition had to be abandoned. The infantry marched bare-

footed and in rags, carrying rusty muskets, grumbling against their generals.

There were two bridges across the Aisne in these parts, one at Soissons and one at Berry-au-Bac, but the fortified town of Soissons was held by a French garrison. Napoleon moved in the direction of Fismes, hoping to intercept the passage at Berry-au-Bac, that of Soissons being already closed. If he could succeed, Blücher would have to fight a battle under the worst possible conditions, which could only result in complete disaster. But the unexpected happened. Winzingerode, instead of marching to Oulchy to join Blücher, had undertaken the siege of Soissons with the hope of gaining possession of that important bridge. There was but little chance of the town surrendering. Indeed, the siege was on the point of being raised, when suddenly the commandant of the place, an old soldier without energy, lost his head at the first sound of the enemy's guns and capitulated after twenty-four hours' investment. Hardly was the ink of the convention dry when the cannon of the Emperor were heard on the banks of the Ourcq. Thus was all the fruit of Napoleon's brilliant manœuvre lost. Blücher crossed the Aisne safely on March 5 and retreated towards Laon. The rage of the Emperor at this cowardly act of treason may well be imagined. He wrote to Clarke, the Minister of War: "The enemy was in the greatest embarrassment, and we were hoping to reap the fruit of several days of labour, when the treason or stupidity of the commandant of Soissons delivered this fortress to him. Arrest this miserable wretch and the members of the council of defence, bring them before a court-martial composed of generals, and, in God's name, have them shot in the Place de Grêve in twenty-four hours. It is time that example should be made."

Napoleon now crossed the Aisne by the bridge of Berry-au-Bac, hoping to reach Laon before Blücher. The

Prussian marshal, wishing to attack the Emperor on the march, occupied the plateau of Craonne with 30,000 men, and it was necessary for Napoleon to dislodge them before he marched on to the city. This gave occasion to the battle of Craonne, fought on March 7, 1814. The Russians were drawn up in three lines on the grand plateau, which could only be reached by difficult defiles. During several hours' conflict the French troops were not able to attain the plateau, until at length the Russian lines were broken by the artillery of Davout. Blücher now perceived that a cavalry charge, which he had prepared with the design of dealing the French a decisive blow, could not be made with success, and he ordered the retreat of the Russians from the plateau. The battle was, therefore, undecided, and was certainly not a victory for Napoleon, because the allies were able to carry out their original intention of retiring to Laon.

The city of Laon, crowned by its cathedral, is a natural fortress which dominates the surrounding plain. Blücher established himself there strongly, and Napoleon endeavoured to dislodge him, hoping in this way to prevent the advance to Paris. He therefore attacked the advance posts of the army of Silesia, towards the south, on March 9, and ordered Marmont to make a similar attack upon the east. Marmont did not arrive on the ground till late in the day, and with some difficulty established himself at Athies. He left his troops there for the night, going himself to sleep at the château of Eppes, some three miles off.

In the evening the best soldiers of Marmont, wearied by eight hours of march and four of battle, were dispersed looking for food in the neighbouring farms, while the larger number, paralysed by cold and weakened by hunger, were sleeping like sheep in a pen round the bivouac fires. At seven o'clock the Prussians penetrated into the village, and finding the troops in their first sleep cut them to

pieces without resistance. In the meantime Kleist attacked in another direction with the cries of "Hurrah! hurrah!" Gunners were killed at their posts, and the guns were carried off already loaded. Simultaneously there was a third attack of 7000 Prussian cavalry. Marmont, aroused from his sleeping-place, arrived on the scene, but could do nothing, and it was only by the heroic efforts of Colonel Fabier that the rout was converted into a retreat. On the following day the corps of Marmont reached Berry-au-Bac, but only one-third of his troops answered to the roll-call; 700 had been killed or wounded, and 2500 had been made prisoners. Only eight pieces of artillery escaped capture.

Notwithstanding the destruction of Marmont's corps, which made his plan impossible to execute, Napoleon still continued to threaten Laon, hoping to intimidate Blücher into a retreat; but the marshal was too sure of his position to be frightened in this manner. All the attempts of the French to dislodge a vastly superior body of the enemy from extremely strong ground proved fruitless, and they at length retired to Soissons, having lost, altogether, more than six thousand men, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, while the loss of the allies had only been about half that number. The check of Napoleon at Laon was the first consequence of the council of war at Bar-sur-Aube. Augereau had been compelled to stop his movements from Lyons towards the Jura, because the army of the Prince of Hesse had beaten the French at Poligny on March 4, and had withdrawn his forces in the direction of Lyons.

It will be remembered that when Napoleon set out in pursuit of the army of Blücher, he had left behind him the corps of Macdonald and Oudinot. These were immediately attacked by Schwarzenberg, and were beaten at Vernonfays, upon which they retired to Troyes. They did not stay there long, but retreated first to Nogent and

then to Provins, so that Schwarzenberg was again upon the Seine. The important town of Rheims also had been captured by a body of Russians under the command of Saint Priest, a lieutenant of Langeron. As soon as Napoleon heard of this he gave orders for Marmont to advance upon Rheims. He sent Ney there also, and left Soissons in person for the same place at daybreak on March 13. Saint Priest could hardly believe that he was being attacked by the French, whom he supposed to be a long way off. The Emperor arrived at Rheims at four o'clock in the afternoon, and immediately gave orders for the assault. Saint Priest soon recognized by the number of the enemy and by the vigour of the attack that Napoleon was present in person. He immediately began to give orders for the retreat, but was mortally wounded by a fragment of shell which shattered his shoulder. The battle continued during the night, but the Russians were eventually defeated, and Napoleon gained possession of the town, thus establishing himself on the lines of communication of both the hostile armies.

When Napoleon set out to follow Blücher on February 27, he had formed the whole plan of campaign in his mind. He intended to crush the army of Silesia, and to drive it beyond the upper waters of the Oise, then to collect the garrisons of the fortresses in the north-east, and to return with 10,000 sabres and 40,000 bayonets to the rear of the grand army of the allies, which was opposed in front by Macdonald, and harassed on its left flank by Augereau. But everything had turned against him. Blücher had been saved by the capitulation of Soissons, and the stubborn resistance of the army of Silesia at Craonne, and at Laon, as well as the retreat of Macdonald on Provins, and of Augereau on Lyons, rendered this whole scheme impossible. But the capture of Rheims brought his original project back to the mind of the Emperor. He thought that it would be possible to surprise Schwarzenberg in

his operations, defeat one or two of his divisions, and, when the grand army was in retreat, march upon Lorraine.

Between March 11 and 16 Schwarzenberg had driven the troops of Macdonald from Nogent to Provins and from Provins to Nangis, but when he heard of the capture of Rheims, he had stopped his advance and begun his retreat anew, being afraid of a movement of Napoleon on his communications. He wrote on March 12: "I have no news, and I must confess that I tremble. If Blücher is defeated, can I risk a battle myself? for if I am conquered, what a triumph for Napoleon, and what humiliation for the sovereigns to have to recross the Rhine at the head of a conquered army!" On March 17 Napoleon was still hesitating as to whether he should join Macdonald and meet the enemy face to face, or whether he should march to Troyes in order to fall upon the flank or rear of the allies. The first plan was in his opinion the safer, but he chose the second because it was the bolder. Before setting out he sent orders to Marmont and Mortier to use every effort to keep Blücher behind the Aisne; if he did not succeed in this they were to retire towards Paris, disputing every position on the road. They had with them a force of 25,000 men; Mortier was invested with the command, but the Emperor had more confidence in Marmont.

On Thursday, March 17, the Emperor left Rheims with his Old Guard, that "moving citadel," as Houssaye calls it, which was always attached to his steps, and on the evening of the same day he slept at Epernay. The next morning, starting early, he continued his march southwards, towards Fère-Champenoise, whilst Ney was proceeding from Châlons to Mailly, along a parallel road to the east. The head-quarters of the allies were now at Troyes, and they were in great confusion and embarrassment. Schwarzenberg was divided between two objects, to hold back Macdonald on his front, and to engage Napoleon on his flank; he consequently spread his

army over a semicircle of eighty miles. The Emperor Alexander, seeing the danger of this arrangement, insisted on an alteration, and gave orders which implied a retreat upon Bar-sur-Aube. Schwarzenberg passed from the heights of confidence to the depths of pusillanimity. At 1 p.m. he was holding Macdonald behind the Seine, and fighting a battle with Napoleon between the Marne and the Aube; at 8 p.m. he left all this ground open to his adversaries, and retreated thirty miles with an army of 100,000 before an army of 50,000.

Napoleon was, not unnaturally, ill-informed of the situation. He believed that the great army was on the right bank of the Seine fighting with Macdonald; he therefore determined to march straight on to Arcis-sur-Aube and to traverse its rear. But arriving at Fère-Champenoise, he heard of Schwarzenberg's retreat, and, changing his plans, prepared to cross the Aube at Boulages and the Seine at Méry, Ney at the same time making a parallel march. Napoleon met with so little resistance at the passage of these rivers that he became convinced that the grand army was retiring by forced marches on Brienne or Bar-sur-Aube. This confirmed his opinion that the safest plan he could adopt would be to march towards the garrisons of Lorraine, and, collecting all available troops, throw himself on the rear of the allies with an army of 90,000 men. For this purpose he determined to march on Vitry-le-François and to close the road which passed by Arcis-sur-Aube. On the morning of March 20 he wrote to the Minister of War: "My movements have been perfectly successful. I shall neglect Troyes and march with all haste upon my fortresses"; and again: "I am starting for Vitry." He contemplated as a possibility the capture of Paris by the allies, feeling that all measures of security had been taken, and that whatever his head-quarters were, there was the capital of the empire.

It happened, from some reason which has not been sufficiently explained, that Schwarzenberg was on March 19 seized with an access of energy, and suddenly determined to stop his retreat and to engage Napoleon. Consequently on the following day the first columns of the allies fell unexpectedly on the French positions at Arcis and Torcy, situated on either side of the Aube, and drove them back in great confusion. Napoleon, galloping up, restored order at great personal risk. Finding that his troops were fleeing pell-mell over the bridge, he rode to the end of it, faced the fugitives, and cried in a voice of thunder: "Who will dare to cross the bridge before me?" At another time, when even the firmness of the Guard seemed to waver, he rode his horse close up to a shell and remained till it exploded. The horse was killed, but the Emperor was uninjured. None of the "bear-skins" could show terror after that.

Night put an end to the conflict. For the space of eight hours the French had held their ground, under a terrible fire of artillery, first 7500 against 14,000, then 13,000 against 20,000, and at last 16,000 against 25,000, and they had not lost an inch of ground. During the whole of this time Napoleon believed that he was engaged only with a detachment of the grand army, and therefore determined to continue the battle on the following day. But he very soon discovered that the whole of the army of Bohemia was before him, and that it was no good to struggle any longer with 27,000 men against 100,000. He therefore retired by the bridge of Arcis. The allies attacked the town, but every street and every house was defended, and by the time they gained possession of it the passage of the Aube was secured.

After the two battles of Arcis-sur-Aube Napoleon continued, with more boldness than prudence, his march towards the fortresses of Lorraine and upon the communications of the allied armies. On the afternoon of March 23

he entered Saint Dizier, which lies between the two routes which the armies of Blücher and Schwarzenberg had followed from Strasburg and Basel. He had no doubt that the grand army would return and fight him; but until he knew which route it would follow, he was reduced to inaction. Schwarzenberg was equally ignorant of the direction of Napoleon's march, and also waited for information. Suddenly an intercepted despatch gave the allies the light which they desired. A council of war was held at Pougy on March 23, and opinions were much divided. Some were in favour of a retreat, others were in favour of abandoning the communication with Switzerland and marching on Châlons to approach the army of Blücher. This important resolution was eventually adopted, although Schwarzenberg stigmatized it as rash.

Intercepted despatches had determined the march on Châlons; information of a similar character was to produce even more important results. This was contained in letters from high functionaries of the Empire, describing the exhaustion of the treasury, the arsenal, and the magazines, and the growing discontent of the population. Schwarzenberg had not paid much attention to these despatches, and having opened communications with Blücher, was now preparing to pursue Napoleon with the two armies united. But the letters made a great impression on the mind of the Emperor Alexander, and he spent a sleepless night in their contemplation. The King of Prussia and Schwarzenberg had already left in pursuit of Napoleon, but Alexander remained behind at Sommepuis. He summoned his Russian generals to his presence, and asked them: "Now that our communications with Blücher are re-established, ought we to continue the pursuit of Napoleon, or should we march directly on Paris?" Barclay de Tolly was strongly in favour of continuing the pursuit; Diebich was in favour of dividing the army into two portions, one to pursue Napoleon, the other to march on

Paris—a fatal suggestion. At hearing this, General Toll cried: "There is only one thing to be done under our present circumstances—to march on Paris as quickly as possible with all our forces, and to send ten thousand cavalry against Napoleon to mask our movement." Diebich then followed on the same side. Barclay was at length convinced, and the Tsar mounted his horse to join Schwarzenberg. After an hour's ride he came up with him between Sommepuis and Vitry. The sovereigns and the generals held an improvised council of war at the side of the road. Alexander having explained his scheme, the King of Prussia strongly approved of it, but the Austrians still vigorously opposed. At length, with great reluctance, Schwarzenberg gave his adhesion to this new plan of campaign, and it was agreed that on the following day, Friday, March 25, the two united armies should begin their advance upon the capital, whilst Winzingerode should follow Napoleon in the direction of Saint Dizier, and do his best to make him believe that he was being pursued by the whole army of the coalition.

On March 25 the two armies began their march on Paris with a body of 200,000 men. On the same day they came into conflict with the troops of Marshals Marmont and Mortier at Fère-Champenoise, which they drove back after some resistance. On the same day also, a little to the north, some thousands of national guards, who were escorting a large convoy of 100 artillery wagons and 80 other vehicles, with munitions of war, and 200,000 rations of bread and brandy, were attacked by the army of Silesia; they defended themselves with heroic courage, and rather than surrender suffered themselves to be destroyed to a man. The Emperor of Russia, who witnessed the close of the engagement, never forgot the lesson which it taught. The two marshals continued their retreat towards Paris, making a long detour by Provins, in order to avoid their advancing foes. The allies marched

up to the outskirts of the capital without meeting any resistance, except that of a small body commanded by Compans, who disputed their ground foot by foot for three days from Meaux to Pantin. On the evening of March 29 the allies encamped before Paris.

We left Napoleon at Saint Dizier, waiting for news of the march of his enemies. On March 25, being still ignorant of their advance upon Paris, but hearing that Bar-sur-Aube and Troyes had been evacuated, he decided to occupy these towns, in order more effectually to intercept their communications, and moved for that purpose to Doulevant, some twelve miles to the south; but hearing that some Austrian cavalry, part of the detachment of Winzingerode, had shown themselves in the direction of Saint Dizier, he returned and dispersed them. They left in his hands 2000 prisoners and 18 guns, and lost 500 men killed or wounded. The victory, however, brought great confusion to the mind of the Emperor; he believed that he was engaged with the army of Schwarzenberg, and found that he was fighting the army of Blücher. How could Blücher, who a few days ago was threatening Soissons, be now on the frontiers of Lorraine? and how could Schwarzenberg, who was marching on Vitry, have disappeared so suddenly? At length, on the afternoon of Sunday, March 27, when before Vitry, he learnt the undoubted news that the allies were marching on Paris. He immediately mounted his horse, rode off to Saint Dizier, and buried himself in his reports, his maps, and his plans. He knew that the sceptre and the sword were trembling in his hands.

There is little doubt that if left to himself he would have abandoned Paris to her fate and have continued his operations, but he was overruled by the opinion of his generals, and at eleven at night orders were issued for an advance on the capital by way of Bar-sur-Aube, Troyes, and Fontainebleau. He reached Troyes on the night of March 29, and after a few hours' sleep left again at break

of day, committing the charge of the army to Berthier, who was ordered to lead it to Fontainebleau. He intended to sleep at Villeneuve-sur-Vanne, but his impatience overcame him. He threw himself into a post-chaise with Caulaincourt, and galloped at full speed on the road to Paris.

On that very day, Wednesday, March 30, 1814, the decisive battle was being fought under the walls of the capital. Paris, at that time, was not fortified, and during the two months of the campaign nothing had been done either by Clarke, the Minister of War, or by King Joseph, who was President of the Council of Regency, to place it in a condition of defence. Napoleon himself had given no positive orders with regard to it. Putting things at their very best, not more than 43,000 soldiers and militia could be got together to oppose the vast forces of the allies. Under these circumstances honour might be preserved, but victory was impossible. To make this last effort, Marmont established himself on the plateau of Romainville, and in front of Pantin; Mortier was to the north in front of La Villete and La Chapelle. The soldiers of Marmont defended their ground with the utmost heroism, but the plateau was captured by force of numbers, and he withdrew to Belleville and Ménilmontant, where he held out for several hours. But the allies occupied Charonne and drove Mortier back to the very gates of the city, capturing Montmartre and assaulting the barrier of Clichy, which was defended by the aged Marshal Moncey. At four o'clock in the afternoon Marmont, using the power which Joseph had given to him, began negotiations for a capitulation. The French evacuated the city during the night, and the allies made their triumphal entry on the following day.

Meanwhile Napoleon, hastening with all speed towards the capital, was receiving bad news at every post-house. At Sens he heard that the enemy were approaching Paris;

at Fontainebleau that the Empress had left for Blois; at Essonnes that a battle was being fought. At last, at eleven o'clock at night, he reached the post-house of Fromenteau, called La Cour-de-France, about fourteen miles from Paris. Here he learnt the news of the capitulation from General Belliard. He refused to yield to circumstances: he would go to Paris, sound the tocsin, illuminate the town, call the whole population to arms; and he drove on to Athis, two miles farther. From this point he saw the bivouac fires of the enemy on the left bank of the Seine and met the advanced guard of Mortier. He returned to La Cour-de-France, despatched Caulaincourt to Paris with full power to treat for peace, shut himself up in a room and busied himself with his maps,

At daybreak he received a messenger from Caulaincourt, and shortly afterwards a letter from Marmont. He now knew that everything was lost, and, wearied out with fatigue, returned to Fontainebleau, which he reached at six o'clock in the morning. He was joined here in the succeeding days by the remains of his army.

CHAPTER XI

THE TREATY OF FONTAINEBLEAU

IN the absence of Napoleon from Paris Talleyrand became master of the situation. He was at this time in favour of the accession of Napoleon II with a regency. He hoped for Napoleon's death or for his abdication. He was opposed to the restoration of the Bourbons because he did not know how he would stand with Louis XVIII. He could get on well enough with the Comte d'Artois, but he could not submit to receive either pardon or condonance from his brother. But his views gradually changed, and he began to favour the return of the legitimate family and a constitutional monarchy. The allies were to recross the Rhine, and peace was to be negotiated outside the frontiers of France. He regarded himself as the author of peace for France, and as the king-maker of the new sovereign. The council of regency met on March 28, and in defiance of the express orders of Napoleon not to separate the government and his family, sent the Empress and the King of Rome to Rambouillet, while Joseph remained at Paris. However, three days later, after the signing of the capitulation, Joseph and the government left, and the allies entered the capital.

It was Sunday, a superb spring day; the boulevards were filled with holiday crowds. The shops were shut, while their owners stayed sulkily at home, but the world of fashion thronged the streets in their best attire. Alexander was the central figure of the procession, accompanied by

the King of Prussia, by Schwarzenberg, Barclay de Tolley and Blücher, followed by the redoubtable Cossacks, by columns of infantry, with their bands playing, by artillery and a noble cavalry. There were cries of "Long live Alexander!" "Long live our liberator!" Only a few cried "Long live the Bourbons!" Alexander was radiant, dressed in a modest uniform, mounted on a grey horse. He looked like a young god, with the aureole of triumph upon his brow.

When Alexander had reviewed the troops in the Champs Elysées he took up his abode in Talleyrand's house, the Hôtel St. Florentine. Nesselrode had preceded him, and had found Talleyrand dressing. He tells us that Talleyrand embraced him, and covered him with powder from his fresh-dressed wig. The Duke Dalberg, the Abbé de Pradt and the Baron Louis joined the party. Nesselrode told them that Alexander was determined not to leave Napoleon on the throne of France. Alexander himself was in favour of Bernadotte, but Talleyrand objected. "Why choose a soldier, when we reject the first of all soldiers? Neither you, Sire, nor the allies, nor I, can give a king to France. The selection must be based on a principle; the only possible principle is legitimacy, and Louis XVIII is the legitimate king." At three in the afternoon a declaration, drawn up by Dalberg and Nesselrode, was issued, signed by the Tsar. It proclaimed that the sovereigns refused to treat either with Bonaparte or with any member of his family; that they would respect the integrity of France as it had existed under the legitimate sovereign, and that they might even go beyond this; that the choice of a provisional government and the drafting of a constitution was left to the Senate. The Senate pronounced the deposition of Napoleon, and favoured the return of the Bourbons.

Let us return to the victims of this revolution. Joseph summoned the council of regency to meet at the

Tuileries on March 28 at half-past eight in the evening, under the presidency of the Empress. It was to decide whether the Empress and her son were to remain at Paris or not. Clarke, the Minister of War, argued in favour of departure, but the other members of the Council were opposed to him. They said that the departure of the Empress would discourage the citizens, would prove to them that all hope was lost, and make the defence of the capital impossible. When the vote was taken, all excepting Clarke were opposed to the departure, Joseph remaining neutral. Joseph then read a letter from Napoleon, ordering that the Empress and the King of Rome should leave the capital if it were threatened. He did not make it clear that in this case the whole of the Government was to leave as well. The Council were compelled to submit, and they decided that the departure should take place at eight o'clock the following morning, and that the Regent and her son should go to Rambouillet. The meeting broke up at two in the morning, the members deeply regretting the resolution to which they had arrived. Even Joseph himself, and Cambacérès, followed the Empress into her apartments, begging her by the exercise of her own will to reverse the decision, but she had not the courage to do so. The night was spent in preparations. Joseph absented himself to escape responsibility. The Empress deferred her departure, awaiting the return of Joseph. She went into her bedroom, threw her bonnet on the bed, sank into an arm-chair and wept. At half-past ten Clarke sent an aide-de-camp to urge her departure; if she delayed she would fall into the hands of the Cossacks. The little King of Rome refused to move. He said to his mother, "Do not let us go to Rambouillet; it is a wretched place. Let us remain here." He struggled in the arms of his bearer, he clutched at the doors, at the rail of the staircase, crying with all his might, "I will not leave my house; I won't go away. Since papa is not here, I am the master," seeking,

poor child, to avoid his inevitable fate. The carriages moved slowly, ten large berlines—the carriage of the coronation with its ornaments covered up, the luggage and the escort. They passed along the quays in a dreary silence. At the Champs Elysées the Empress, her eyes full of tears, leant out of the carriage to take a last farewell of the city in which she had spent four happy years. Caulaincourt, sent by Napoleon, had interviews with the Tsar at Bondy and at the Hôtel St. Florentin. He offered the terms of Châtillon, but the Tsar declared that peace with Napoleon would only be a truce. He did not, however, seem entirely to reject the idea of an abdication and a regency.

Napoleon had returned to Fontainebleau on March 31, the day on which the allies entered Paris. When he heard of this he said to Marmont that peace was now impossible, and that he must continue the war at all hazards. The Emperor was in deep distress; the only thing which could rouse him was the sight of his soldiers. An eye-witness tells us that when he was present at the mounting of the guard in the courtyard of the Palace on April 2, his countenance became radiant, and he was once more the glorious and prosperous Napoleon of the Tuileries, of Schönbrunn, and of Potzdam. At night Caulaincourt returned from Paris. He told his master that the Senate had deposed him, and that the allies insisted on his abdication. He was fired with indignation. He spent April 3 in completing his arrangements. He summoned his officers, and said to them, "I have offered to the Emperor Alexander a peace at the price of great sacrifices, France with her former frontiers. He has refused; he allows the troops to wear the white cockade. I will attack Paris. I count on you. Am I right?" A shout of assent thundered "Vive l'Empereur! To Paris!" "Tell your soldiers," he said, and the soldiers gave their assent in the same manner.

But the generals stood aloof, Ney their leader. He with Lefebvre and Moncey broke into Napoleon's study. Ney said, "Sire, it is time to end this. Your situation is desperate; you must make up your mind and abdicate for the King of Rome." Napoleon discussed the situation, but Ney interrupted, "It is impossible. The army will not follow you; you have lost its confidence." "The army has still obedience enough to punish your rebellion," said his master. Their eyes met, and Ney quailed. His spirit sank, and he murmured, "Do not be afraid. We are not come here to enact a tragedy as at St. Petersburg." The next day Macdonald arrived, and announced his agreement with the others. At eleven the Emperor came to breakfast in company with Ney, Berthier, Caulaincourt, Moncey, Maret, and Lefebvre. After a hearty meal they went into the next room. Napoleon stalked up and down, his eyes fixed on the ground. Suddenly he stopped before Caulaincourt, and said, "I will abdicate." "Sire," said Moncey, "you are saving France." When the act of abdication was completed, Macdonald entered the room. After some discussion the Emperor said, "I have desired the glory and happiness of France. I have not succeeded. I abdicate and retire."

In the meantime every effort had been made to tamper with the fidelity of Marmont; Talleyrand was the mainspring of these intrigues, Schwarzenberg the instrument. The vanity of Marmont was roused. He would be the "Monk" of the situation, the new sovereign of France would owe his crown to him. His name would live in history, and he would preserve his property and his fortune. He wrote a letter to Schwarzenberg, saying that public interests had always directed his conduct, that by the decree of the Senate the army and the people had been released from their oath of fidelity to the Emperor, that he was ready to effect a junction between the army and the people, to prevent a civil war and the effusion of

French blood. He agreed to separate his division from the army of Napoleon on the condition that he should be allowed to march into Normandy, and that, if his former sovereign should fall into the hands of the allies, life and liberty should be guaranteed to him. Nothing of these negotiations was known at Fontainebleau. There Caulaincourt, Ney, and Macdonald were designated as plenipotentiaries, with orders to meet Marmont and Moncey, and to make to Marmont the offer of accompanying them to Paris. They arrived at four in the afternoon, and Marmont, conscious of his treachery, was thrown into the greatest embarrassment. He avowed what he had done, to the dismay of the others, who pointed out the fatal character of his conduct; but he declared that nothing was decided, and that he would break off the negotiations. He agreed to accompany them to Paris, happy, himself, to escape the danger of arrest, while the others were glad to prevent the execution of his design. He left the command of his division to Souham, but ordered that the soldiers should be informed of the abdication of the Emperor. On his way to Paris he had an interview with Schwarzenberg, who refused to release him from his written promise.

On arriving at Talleyrand's house, they went straight to the apartment of Alexander, and announced to him the abdication of the Emperor. Alexander declared that it was too late, but he was touched by their arguments, and promised to confer with the allies. When the members of the provisional government met immediately afterwards, he pleaded the cause of the regency, but encountered opposition. Discussions continued till two in the morning, and Alexander promised to give his answer on the following day. During the night the army of Marmont passed into the Austrian lines, by the order of Souham, who had been summoned, with Marmont and the other generals, to Fontainebleau, and was anxious to protect his life from the

provost-marshal. The troops did not know where they were going or whither they had gone until they found themselves surrounded by their enemies. This defection deprived Napoleon of his weapons. It was impossible to fight a last battle before Paris. Alexander regarded the event as a work of Providence, a special interposition in his favour. God had spoken: there was no more room for doubt or hesitation.

The next morning at nine o'clock Caulaincourt and the marshals were received by Alexander and the King of Prussia. Alexander announced to them that the allies had refused the abdication. Napoleon should be sovereign of the island of Elba, with the title of Emperor; his family should have pensions. If this did not suit him, let him come to Russia, where he would be received as sovereign, and where he could count on the affection of his old ally. The emissaries returned to Fontainebleau about midnight. Napoleon was asleep, but he was awakened. "Have you succeeded?" he asked. "Partly," replied Ney, "but not for the regency. It was too late; the Senate will recognize the Bourbons to-morrow." "Where am I to live with my family?" "Where your Majesty wishes; for instance, in the island of Elba, with an income of six millions." "Six millions. That is a great deal. What shall I do with it? I only need a louis a day. I am now nothing but a simple soldier. I desired the happiness of France, but I was deceived." The English plenipotentiaries did not approve of Elba as a residence for Napoleon, they thought it too near to France, and likely to cause trouble in Italy. Castlereagh hinted that Napoleon might seek an asylum in England, and the idea had previously occurred to Napoleon himself, who spoke of it to Caulaincourt. Metternich also objected to Elba. But Alexander always returned the same answer, "I have given my word." The next day, April 11, the formal act of abdication was delivered to the allies, and the treaty, generally known as

the Treaty of Fontainebleau, was signed at Paris by Metternich for Austria, Nesselrode for Russia, and Hardenberg for Prussia, and by Ney, Macdonald and Caulaincourt for Napoleon, Napoleon himself ratifying it on the following day. It was not signed by any English representative, but it was ratified by England on April 27 so far as the stipulations with regard to Elba and the Italian duchies were concerned. There is no doubt that during the night between April 12 and 13 Napoleon endeavoured to poison himself; but the poison which he had kept with him for a long time had lost its efficacy. He remained after this a passive spectator of events.

The Treaty of Fontainebleau is so important a document, and has been so little understood, that it is necessary to give a full account of it. It consists of eighteen articles. The first article declares that Napoleon Bonaparte renounces for himself, his successors and descendants, as well as for each of the members of his family, all rights of sovereignty and domination over the French Empire, the Kingdom of Italy, and all other countries. He and his consort are to preserve during their life the titles of Emperor and Empress, and the members of his family the titles with which they have been invested. He is to possess during his life the island of Elba in complete sovereignty, and is to receive an annual revenue of two millions of francs from the 'Grand Livre' of France, the Empress to have the reversion. The duchies of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla are to be given in complete sovereignty to the Empress Marie Louise, and after her, to her son and to his descendants. The Bonaparte family is to receive an income of two millions and a half in land or revenue, of which they shall have the absolute property; they are also to keep whatever property they may possess. Josephine is to receive an income of a million, independently of her lands and other property. Eugène Beauharnais is to have an establishment outside France. The corvette which carries

Bonaparte to the island of Elba is to remain his property, and he may take with him a guard of 400 men. The Frenchmen who go with him to Elba, are to lose their nationality if they do not return to France within three years. This treaty was, as we shall see, shamefully violated, but it should be mentioned that it was never formally recognized by Louis XVIII.

Napoleon stayed at Fontainebleau a week after this, and we have the best account of what passed there from the narration of Sir Neil Campbell, who was sent by the English government to accompany him to Elba. His first interview with Napoleon was on April 17. He tells us that he saw before him a short, active-looking man, who was rapidly pacing the length of his apartments like some wild animal in his cell. He was dressed in an old green uniform with gold epaulets, blue pantaloons, and red top-boots, unshaven, uncombed, with the fallen particles of snuff scattered profusely upon his upper lip and breast. When he became aware of Campbell's presence he turned quickly towards him and endeavoured to conceal his anxiety and agitation by an assumed placidity of manner. He asked him many questions about his wounds and his service in the army. He spoke highly of Wellington, saying that he was a man of energy in war, and that such qualities were necessary to carry on war successfully. About the English he said, "Your nation is the greatest of all. I esteem it more than all the rest. I have been held your greatest enemy, frankly such, but I am so no longer. I desired also to raise the French nation, but my plans have not succeeded. It is destiny." Here he stopped short, and seemed greatly affected, tears being in his eyes. He expressed a wish that a British man-of-war should accompany the corvette which was to take him to Elba, or that he might embark on a British ship. He terminated the conversation by saying, "Well, I am at your disposal. I am your subject. I depend entirely upon you."

Napoleon did not leave the palace. He was constantly occupied in seeing officers who came from the army, from Paris, and from Rambouillet, where the Empress was then staying, and in making arrangements for his departure. He sent off a number of wagons with luggage, but the treasure-chest of the army, containing about five millions of francs, he kept with himself. He gave away books, manuscripts, swords, pistols, and decorations to officers who were with him. He read in the daily papers everything which took place at Paris. Campbell reports that he desired Caulaincourt to inform the allied sovereigns that if proper arrangements were not made for his safety, he should prefer to go to England, saying, "It is a great nation. I am sure to be in safety and to be treated with generosity."

He added, however, "But in my island I shall be as if I were in a London street." He also relates that Macdonald, meeting Marmont at Paris, said to him, "Miserable man! It is you who have prevented the dynasty of Napoleon from occupying the throne." "How so?" he replied. "I acted for the best advantage of my country." When Marmont said that he would have given one of his limbs to undo what had been done, Macdonald answered, "One of your limbs! All your blood cannot change it now," and reproached him bitterly for his ingratitude.

At length the fateful morning of April 20 dawned. Napoleon bitterly complained to the Austrian commissioner that his wife and child had not been allowed to join him, and that the guns and stores had been withdrawn from the island of Elba, thus leaving him without defence. He did not wish for a kingdom, and had therefore not asked for Corsica, but he wished for protection against the Barbary pirates. As he spoke again about his separation from his wife and child, tears rolled down his cheeks. He then said to Campbell, "I have been a bitter enemy of your nation. I avow it, but I am so no longer. I esteem you English more than all other nations. I am separated

from the Empress in order to leave me in Elba without defence. If they act with trickery towards me I shall ask for an asylum in England. Do you think they will receive me there?" Campbell replied that the sovereign and the nation would always keep their engagements with generosity and fidelity. "Yes," remarked Napoleon, "I feel sure that they will not refuse me." He then paced up and down the room, and eventually said, "Well, we will leave to-day." Then followed the famous "Adieux de Fontainebleau." The door of his study opened, the aide-de-camp called out "L'Empereur!" and he passed with a salute and a smile to the head of the stairs and down into the court towards his carriage, which was drawn up between two ranks of the Old Guards. Calling for the officers, commissioned and non-commissioned, and for the foreign representatives, he addressed them in the well-known speech which need not here be produced in full. He began, "I bid you farewell. For twenty years I have found you always brave and faithful, marching in the path of glory. . . . As for you soldiers, be always faithful in the path of duty and honour. Serve your new sovereign with fidelity. The sweetest occupation of my life will be henceforth to make known to posterity all the great things you have done, and my only consolation will be to learn all that France will do for the glory of its name. You are all my children; I would embrace you all, but I will embrace you all in the person of your general." He then kissed General Petit on both cheeks. "I will embrace these eagles which have served us as guides in so many dangers and days of glory." He then gave a long loving embrace to the standard, and finally lifted up his left hand and said, "Adieu! Keep me in your remembrance." The carriage set off at a gallop. Of the men and officers, some wept, some were silent, and some cried, "Vive l'Empereur!" The first night was spent at Briare in a large hotel, the second night at Nevers, and the third at Roanne. Napoleon

LES ADIEUX DE FONTAINEBLEAU

(From an engraving in Mr. A. M. Broadley's collection)

and Augereau met beyond Lyons and Valence. They embraced; Napoleon took off his hat, but Augereau replied with only a formal salute. Campbell left Napoleon at Roanne, but reports on the authority of the commissioners that the enmity of the inhabitants towards the fallen Emperor increased in violence as he travelled southwards. At Orange the women and boys clambered upon the carriage, and were with difficulty driven off. Several large stones were thrown at his equipage, but without effect. Napoleon, naturally not wishing to be massacred, left the carriage, mounted one of the horses, put on a plain overcoat and a round hat with a white cockade, and rode on in front. During the remainder of the journey he changed uniforms with the commissioners, and took alternately the names of Colonel Campbell and Lord Burghersh.

The fears of assassination were not idle, for on the night of April 18 the Marquis de Orsvault, an accomplished villain, left Paris with the ostensible object of preventing treasure and jewels being carried off by the Imperial family, but with the real object of getting rid of Napoleon by assassinating him on the journey. The capture of the diamonds was thought of more importance than the sacrifice of the victim, but the written order was preserved for future blackmail. Meanwhile the agony continued. At Avignon the Imperial carriages were stopped and the eagles defaced. If Napoleon had been present he would certainly have been killed. Similar insults took place at Orgon. At last the fallen Emperor arrived at Fréjus, having spent some time with his sister Pauline at a villa in the neighbourhood.

Napoleon and his suite left Fréjus in carriages at sunset on April 28. The barge of the English man-of-war, the Undaunted, met them at the beach. He embarked with Captain Ussher and General Bertrand, and was received with a salute of twenty-one guns. It was a bright moon-

light night, with little wind. A regiment of cavalry was drawn up on the beach and among the trees. The sound of the bugles, the neighing of horses, the voices of the crowd who came to bid their master farewell, formed a picturesque and touching scene. Napoleon, on the Undaunted, had the whole of the after cabin to himself, while Generals Bertrand and Drouot slept in the half of the captain's cabin, which was screened off. In the other half he breakfasted at ten, and dined at six. His conduct secured the respect of all, and his relief from his previous anxieties soon restored him to excellent health. The sea was rather rough, but Napoleon remained constantly on deck, and was not affected by the motion of the ship, which seriously inconvenienced the other Frenchmen. At Capraja a deputation came on board requesting that the English flag should be hoisted for the protection of the island. On the afternoon of May 3 they arrived off Porto Ferrajo, the capital of Elba, but it was too calm for the frigate to enter the harbour. The next morning he rowed round the harbour, and when he returned to the ship determined on the flag of Elba, argent a bend gules, charged with three bees or, perhaps a reminiscence of his own family coat. He landed finally in his new dominion at two in the afternoon.

Authorities.—In this chapter, besides the works already mentioned, we have the assistance of Masson, of Neil Campbell, and of Ussher.

CHAPTER XII

ELBA

ON disembarking at the Porto del Mare, the Emperor was received by the mayor, who presented to him the keys of the town on a silver salver. This dignitary had prepared and written out a speech, but his nervousness would not permit him to say a word. The vicar-general then brought forward a canopy decorated with gold paper, under which Napoleon took his place, and the procession moved towards the cathedral. The Emperor wore his green uniform, with white breeches, and shoes with gold buckles, and the cross of the Legion of Honour, and the Iron Crown of Italy. He held his little three-cornered hat under his arm, decorated with the cockade of Elba, bearing the three bees. He was followed by Bertrand and Drouot, by General Duhesme, and two foreign commissioners. Then came the treasurer Peyrusse, Colonel Jermanowski, the doctor, the chemist, and the two secretaries. The officers of the English ship and the functionaries of the town brought up the rear. The streets were strewed with myrtle and other plants, and were so crowded that the vicar-general had to fight for a passage. The Emperor followed the Te Deum on his knees. The company then passed to the Hôtel de Ville, on the other side of the square, where Napoleon was to lodge. A throne had been extemporized, and three violins and two violoncellos scraped national airs. The Emperor delivered to the

assembly a lecture on the history, antiquities, and resources of the island, of which most of them were ignorant, and to which they listened with gaping mouths. After this the new sovereign visited the citadel, and gave some audiences in the evening, whilst the town was illuminated. On the very same day Louis XVIII entered Paris and slept at the Tuileries.

At midnight the Emperor summoned to his bedroom Bertrand, Duhesme, and Pons de l'Hérault, the director of the mines, telling Pons that he wished to breakfast with him at Rio at nine o'clock the next morning, and to visit the mines. Napoleon left Porto Ferrajo for this purpose at 5 a.m. Pons was flustered by the unaccustomed honour. He decorated his room with Bourbon lilies; he called the Emperor in his confusion first duke, then count, then sire. He expected to be disgraced, but was confirmed in his office. Napoleon passed the next fortnight in visiting the villages of the island. Bertrand, by moving the population about from place to place, took care that his master should always find an applauding crowd. But the Emperor was not deceived; he recognized the same faces circulating, like the chorus of an opera. He paid special attention to the forts of the island and the chief points of defence. He walked on the rocks for ten hours together, under the blazing sun, until his suite were entirely worn out.

The Hôtel de Ville proving an undesirable residence, Napoleon pulled down some windmills which stood on the summit of the hill above the town and constructed a pavilion, which was known as the Palazzo dei Mulini (the Palace of the Mills), making the plans himself. Out of a large room on the ground floor, looking on to the garden, was constructed a theatre, a bath-room, a billiard-room, and a dining-room, the Emperor's bedroom communicating with these apartments. On the upper floor was a large saloon with eight windows, four looking on the town and four on the sea. In order to furnish this new residence

he raided the palace of his sister Elisa at Piombino, and a storm providentially driving a ship laden with furniture belonging to his brother-in-law, Prince Borghese, on its way from Turin to Rome, Napoleon confiscated it, sending, however, an inventory of it to the Prince. The Emperor's wardrobe had been seized at Orleans by the provisional government, who only left him six dozen shirts. He made up his deficiencies from the cargo of an English vessel which was sold in the island.

In Napoleon's household Bertrand, the grand marshal, controlled the civil department, while Drouot was military governor of the island; Peyrusse was treasurer, a most efficient servant; the care of the navy was entrusted to Lieutenant Taillade, who generally went below in a storm. A mameluke, named Ali, succeeded Roostan as body servant to the Emperor, but his real name was St. Denis, and he was a native of Versailles. The rest of the household need not concern us.

The army consisted of a Corsican battalion, four hundred strong, with a disproportionate number of officers, and another battalion of about the same strength called Bataillon Franc, or Bataillon d'Ile. The guard, under the command of Cambronne, had left Fontainebleau six days before the Emperor, and crossing the Mont Cenis, arrived at Savona on May 18. Embarked on five English transports, they landed at Porto Ferrajo on the morning of May 28. The Emperor shook hands with their colonel, and said, "Cambronne, I have spent a very anxious time in waiting for you, but we are together now and all is forgiven." The officers who came with them formed a trustworthy staff. The grenadiers and chasseurs of the guard formed a battalion 607 strong, called the Bataillon Napoléon. There were also two companies of Polish light horse, under the command of Major Jermanowski. The whole army amounted to about 1600 men. The fleet numbered five vessels: the brig l'Inconstant, the Caroline, armed with

one gun for the postal service, two feluccas, the Mouche, and the Abeille, and a chebec called l'Étoile.

Napoleon's mother arrived at Elba on the evening of August 2, having crossed from Leghorn in an English ship, the brig Grasshopper. Campbell, who was with her, says that she was of middle size, with a good figure and fresh colour, also that she was very handsome, and very pleasant and unaffected. She lay on a couch during the whole voyage, and never left it excepting once to get a view of Napoleon's house, when she mounted on the top of a gun with great activity. Napoleon had been expecting his mother during the whole of the previous day, but had that morning gone to a mountain at some distance. She was greatly agitated and mortified at no one coming to meet her, and was quite pale and huffed. Eventually Bertrand and Drouot arrived, and she proceeded to the palace in a carriage and six. She took up her abode in a house close to the Mulini, which had at first been intended for the reception of Pauline. Pauline had arrived at Elba on May 31, but she was in such bad health that she had to be carried to the Mulini, where the Emperor surrendered his own bed to her. After staying two days she left for Naples, promising to return when her health was better and when Napoleon had found her a lodging.

The first months passed in a quiet routine. The Emperor rose at three or four in the morning, worked in his study and read. He went to bed again about seven or eight, and rose an hour before lunch, after which he made excursions in the island. Campbell says of him: "I have never seen a man in any situation of life with so much personal activity and restless perseverance. He appears to take so much pleasure in perpetual movement, and in seeing those who accompany him sink under fatigue, as has been the case on several occasions when I have accompanied him, that I do not think it possible for him to sit down to

study or to any pursuits of retirement, as proclaimed by him to be his intention, so long as his state of health permits bodily exercise. After being, yesterday, on foot in the heat of the sun, from 5 a.m. to 3 p.m. visiting the frigates and transports, and even going down to the hold among the horses, he rode on horseback for three hours, as he told me afterwards,' 'pour se défatiguer.'" He scaled the Pizzo di Giove, the northernmost peak of the island, and Monte Giove, on which is situated the village of Marciana, both crowned in ancient times with temples sacred to the king of the gods. He planned a country palace there, but had no money to execute it. Another excursion was to the gorge and hermitage of Montserrat. He talked with the hermit who lived there, and took his luncheon on the grass. From this summit he discerned the island of Pianosa, a flat rock about eight miles from Elba, rich in pasture. The Barbary pirates, who used it as a harbour, had killed the inhabitants and left it to the wild goats. Napoleon took possession of it with twenty gunners and sappers of the Guard, and twenty Corsicans. But matters did not pass quietly. The commandant had brought with him his wife and daughter, but found no lodging but the caves in the rocks, which he refused to occupy. Stormy weather coming on, provisions fell short and the garrison was compelled to live on the goats, biscuits, fish, and shellfish. The Emperor sent to the starving soldiers some sheep and some fowls with two cows in milk. He then visited the island himself, but was detained there by bad weather, and had to pass the night in pouring rain. He also annexed the small island of Palmaiola, which lies between Elba and Piombino.

Before the palace of Mulini was completed, Napoleon began to construct for himself another house in a valley a few miles distant from Porto Ferrajo. This was the palace of San Martino, which the Guards, or "Grognards," called the "Saint Cloud" of Elba. The house was small. It

consisted of two stories in front and one behind, looking on to the garden, as the ground sloped. The garden was planted with some trees and flowers, oaks and magnolias. The floor which opened on to the garden contained a large hall called the Salle des Pyramides. There is still a fountain in the centre, the signs of the Zodiac are painted on the ceiling, and Egyptian designs on the walls, with an inscription, "Ubicunque felix Napoleon." Next to this is the drawing-room, on the ceiling of which is a fresco of two doves joined by a ribbon, the knot of which becomes tighter as they fly apart. They were intended to represent Marie Louise and the Emperor, and the room was destined for her habitation. On the right of the drawing-room was the Emperor's bedroom. A narrow staircase led to the ground floor, where was the Emperor's bath, over which was a fresco of a naked woman holding a mirror with the legend, "Qui odit veritatem, odit lucem."

As the summer proceeded, Napoleon found that both Porto Ferrajo and San Martino became too hot, and he turned his attention to the village of Marciana Alta, high above the sea, and to the rocks of Monte Giove, where stood the chapel and the hermit's cell of La Madonna. Madame Letizia took a house at Marciana Alta, while the Emperor occupied the hermit's cell. Seated on the highest crags of Elba he could gaze at the far-off Corsica, the beginning of his glory. At San Martino he waited in vain for the arrival of Marie Louise, and at the Mulin he heard of the death of Josephine, and bewailed her loss with many tears. It was at La Madonna that he received Madame Walewska and her son, accompanied by her sister and her brother. He also began to arrange a palace for Marie Louise at Porto Longone, situated at the other extremity of the island.

When the weather became cooler, Napoleon came into the town, but he soon began to construct a fifth palace at Rio, where the mines were situated. The house of M. Pons

THE HERMITAGE OF MONSERRAT

(From an engraving in Mr. A. M. Broadley's collection)

de l'Hérault was taken as the basis of this, much to the owner's disgust, as he has confessed to us in his memoirs. The Emperor was, however, unable to finish it from want of money. At the beginning of November he was cheered by the return of his sister Pauline, full of grace and charm, a ray of sunshine wherever she went. She was devoted to her brother, and did her best on this occasion to reconcile Napoleon and her mother to Queen Caroline of Naples and her weak-minded husband. She occupied the apartments in the Mulini destined for Marie Louise. The evenings were spent in playing chess, cards, or dominoes. Napoleon never liked to lose, and would cheat rather than do so, which elicited a severe trouncing from his mother. At nine o'clock precisely the Emperor retired, striking upon the piano as a signal for his departure, an octave of notes with a single finger. Sometimes he would entertain the company with a discourse on his past history, speaking with the greatest interest and vigour. He did not like to be contradicted, but forgave easily when offended. Pauline arranged some dances and theatricals for the amusement of the party, and at Porto Ferrajo an old church was converted into a theatre. The drop scene of this represented Apollo, with the features of Napoleon, feeding the flocks of Admetus.

Napoleon was always expecting Marie Louise and his son, and we must now trace the sad story of their separation. She left Rambouillet on March 30, 1814, and arrived at Chartres in the afternoon, lodging at the prefecture. She reached Blois on April 2, and began an active correspondence with the Emperor. The next morning she wrote a passionate letter to her father in favour of her husband and her son. On April 7 Colonel Galbois brought her a letter from the Emperor at Fontainebleau. She retired to read it, and some hours later, when Galbois came to ask for instructions, she announced her intention of joining the Emperor, saying, "My duty is

to be at the side of the Emperor at a moment when he must be so unhappy. I wish to join him, and shall be happy anywhere, if only with him." When obstacles were suggested, this feeling passed away, and on the following day she wrote to her father asking for a quiet refuge for herself and her son in Austria. The letter ended by saying that she was leaving for Fontainebleau the next morning. This was prevented by the arrival of Shuvalov, aide-de-camp to the Emperor Alexander, who insisted on the Empress going to Orleans, where she arrived in the evening on April 9. Even here she formed a plan of joining the Emperor.

In the meantime the doctor, Corvisart, had assured Napoleon that the only safety for Marie Louise would be to take the waters at Aix. He said, "Aix is salvation Elba is death, both for the mother and the child." It is not certain that Corvisart was as honest as Napoleon thought him; he was probably subject to Austrian influence. On April 12 Bausset arrived at Orleans bringing with him two letters, one from Napoleon, asking that Marie Louise should join him at Briare, and then proceed by the Mont Cenis to Parma. She could rest there with her son until he had made preparations in Elba for her reception. The other letter was from Metternich, assuring her that she was confirmed in the possession of the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla. Soon afterwards the Princes Paul Esterhazy and Wenzel Lichtenstein arrived with the same intelligence, and an invitation to meet her father at Rambouillet. She left for Rambouillet the same evening. She was informed that Napoleon was aware of this arrangement. He was aware, but he entirely disapproved of it. He wished that his wife and child should travel quietly with him as far as Parma, and should remain there until he could receive them in Elba. He even sent Cambronne with a detachment of the guard to protect the Empress at Orleans. But it was too late. When he

PORTO LONGONE

(From an engraving in Mr. A. M. Broadley's collection)

arrived the Empress had already started. This was the last blow. Napoleon with prophetic insight saw the miseries of the future, the dishonour of his wife, the slow agony of his son. In the middle of the night he seized the poison which since 1808 he had worn next his skin, the poison which Cabanis had given to Condorcet to save him from the guillotine, and he tried to put an end to his life in which there was no longer anything to live for. He drank the poison, but he still lived. Death was not to come to him in that fashion.

Marie Louise arrived at Rambouillet at midday on April 13, but her father was not there. She wrote to him before she went to bed, saying it was only the desire of seeing him after so long a separation which had induced her to undertake this journey, and had prevented her from going to Fontainebleau to find her husband. After three miserable days, the Emperor Francis arrived. He wrote a letter to Napoleon, saying that his daughter had so much need of rest that she must spend some months in the bosom of her family. When she was recovered, she could go to Parma, where she would be close to Elba. On April 19 she had to undergo the torture of receiving the Emperor of Russia. She refused to see the King of Prussia. Napoleon wrote to her: "My good Louise. I have received your letter and see in it all the sorrow which increases my own. I see with pleasure that Corvisart encourages you. I am most grateful to him. Tell him from me that he justifies by his noble conduct everything that I expected from him. He must send me frequently a little account of your condition. Go at once to the waters at Aix, which I hear that Corvisart has advised for you. Take pains to be well. Keep your health for your husband and your son, who has need of all your care. I am just leaving for Elba, where I will write to you. I will do my best to receive you there. Good-bye, my good Louise Marie." From Fréjus, on April 28, he writes to

Corvisart, that he had seen with pleasure his good behaviour, at a time when so many had behaved badly. This has confirmed him in the opinion which he had formed of his character. Accustomed to traitors though he was, he did not know with what a double-dyed traitor he had to deal.

Before Napoleon left Fontainebleau, he sent Caulaincourt to Marie Louise, bidding him not to press the Empress to join him. "I know what women are, and above all my own wife. To offer her a prison instead of a throne, is a great trial. If she came to me with a sad countenance I should be miserable. I would rather be alone than see her miserable or melancholy. If her inclination leads her to me, I will receive her with open arms; if not, let her remain at Parma or at Florence, where she will be sovereign. I will only ask of her my son. In reply the Empress begged Caulaincourt to assure her husband of her affection and constancy, and of her desire to join him as soon as possible, and to bring with her his son, of whom she promised to take the greatest care. On April 22 the Austrians, charged to escort the Empress to Vienna, arrived at Rambouillet, and she left for Vienna on the following day. During the journey she confessed to Meneval, with tears, that nothing ought to have prevented her from going to Fontainebleau from Blois. During the six weeks she passed at Schönbrunn, Marie Louise received many letters from her husband, which she punctually answered. In spite of remonstrances, she clung obstinately to the plan of visiting Aix, whence she could proceed to Parma, and afterwards to Elba in the month of August. Her grandmother, Maria Carolina of Naples, supported her in this resolution, telling her that if any opposition were made to her departure, she should let herself down from the window by her bedclothes, for when once married it was for life; and Maria Carolina was a bitter enemy of Napoleon.

The Empress left Vienna on July 6, travelling under the name of the Duchess of Calorno, her servants wearing the Napoleon liveries. Count Neipperg, a bitter, ruthless, personal enemy of Napoleon, was ordered to join her at Aix. He was a man of forty-two years of age, wearing a bandage over the eye which he had lost, repulsive in appearance and of infamous moral character but of courtly manners. He was well known to be irresistible with women, and he said to his mistress before he left Milan, "Before six months are over I shall be her lover, and soon after her husband." On her way to Geneva she met various members of the Napoleon family, Eugène Beauharnais, Louis, Jerome and Joseph. She still cherished the idea of going to Parma and thence to Elba, but on August 15 she received positive orders to return to Vienna; Neipperg was commissioned to conduct her, with orders to prevent her from joining Napoleon, if necessary by force. He gradually obliterated the memory of the Emperor. The imperial arms on her carriage, and the imperial liveries, were given up one after another; her father ordered her to communicate to him any letter coming from Elba, and not to write to Napoleon without his leave. She wrote to Napoleon on July 31; he received the letter on August 28. She wrote again on August 10, saying that she was compelled by her father to return to Vienna; but she assures him of her affection and of her intention to join him. She wrote to him no more. Worn out by this silence he wrote on October 10 a letter to his wife's uncle, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in a tone of humility, asking if he could arrange for his communicating once a week with Marie Louise, and for receiving news of her and his son. The letter was sent to the Emperor Francis, opened by him, kept four days and then given to Marie Louise, who was forbidden to answer it.

Napoleon, in Elba, suffered much from want of money. By the Treaty of Fontainebleau he had been granted an

annual revenue of two millions of francs, charged upon the public funds. This engagement was not kept by the Court of the Tuileries. In the month of February, the Emperor of Russia and Lord Castlereagh made serious representations on this subject to Talleyrand at Vienna. Talleyrand excused himself, on the ground that he had been absent from Paris for five months and did not know what had passed, that the money was not due till the end of the year, and that some deductions would have to be made. As the revenues of Elba were insufficient for his support, Napoleon could not dispense with this assistance, which had been secured by treaty. Napoleon was, as we have said, one of the greatest of financiers. He had saved a large sum when Emperor by economies on the civil list. Four-fifths of this he had spent upon the war, and he had been able to rescue only 3,800,000 francs from the clutches of the provisional government, and these he brought with him to Elba. Half of this sum had been spent when he left Elba for France, and even before February he knew that in a given time he must be bankrupt. Reports sent from Elba to Paris and Vienna stated in an unequivocal manner that Napoleon would stay in his island so long as he had money to live there, so that the violation of the Treaty of Fontainebleau was not only a crime but a blunder.

In the additional volumes of the Wellington correspondence there is an interesting paper, written by Lord Liverpool, giving an account of a conversation held by an Englishman with Napoleon at Elba. The writer says: "Bonaparte is reduced to his last shilling; he has spent the little money he brought with him, and his pension has not been paid, although the six months have long since expired. This is abominable. He had not a sou in the English or any other funds, and on leaving France he did not take any of his private treasure, plate, or jewels with him. They say that the Empress is much attached to Bonaparte, and wishes to join him; but that her father

will not hear of it, or even allow her to write. Respecting the rumour that Bonaparte was to be removed from Elba to St. Helena, it is said that the Emperor declares he will only be removed by force." This shows that the idea of deporting Napoleon, favoured by Castlereagh and Talleyrand at Vienna, was no secret. Letters from England, opened by the black cabinet of Louis XVIII, said: "The fate of Bonaparte is decided. He will be sent to Santa Lucia. It is a pity they do not send him to Botany Bay." "The Corsican Ogre will not be sent to Trinidad, as the papers say, because the island is healthy and rather pretty, while the island of Santa Lucia will soon purge the world of our friend Bonaparte." The Tsar had not as yet given his consent to this crime, but there were other ways of putting it into execution. Spain declared that she had not yet given her signature to the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Her ships might carry him off, or those of the Algerian corsairs; indeed, the Dey had already offered his services. A man named Mariotti had been nominated by Talleyrand consul at Leghorn, and wrote frequently to his patron about plans of deportation. One scheme was to bribe Taillade, who was to convey the victim to the Isle St. Marguerite, where he was to be imprisoned. There were also plans of assassination. It is possible that in any case Napoleon would not have remained at Elba, but his enemies did their best to drive him from it. The King of France left him without money, the Emperor of Austria robbed him of his child, Metternich employed a ruffian to debauch his wife, Castlereagh wished to transport him, Talleyrand to throw him into prison, and perhaps to assassinate him.

The want of money, the disorganization of the army, the perpetual fear of kidnapping or assassination, made the situation intolerable. No one knew what would happen, but every one was convinced that the state of things could not continue. The gossips in the cafés talked of the arrival

of Murat, the departure of the Emperor, the rising of Italy like one man at his approach. Others thought that Masséna would carry him triumphantly to France, or that Marie Louise would effect his escape, or perhaps that the Grand Turk would enrol him as general for the destruction of Russia, while the Jews would find the necessary funds, to be paid after the restoration of the Empire. Other schemes were propounded and discussed, too extravagant to mention. The Emperor alone remained calm. He said, "The Emperor is dead. I am a dead man. I am no longer anything." When the spring came he ordered the work of road-making to be resumed. He planted six hundred mulberry trees for the cultivation of silkworms. He studied botany and agriculture. He even attempted to drive the plough, but the oxen refused to obey his guidance. He devoted himself to shooting rabbits from a portable hut. Bertrand said that departure was impossible, and Drouot engaged himself to be married. The vigilance of Campbell was completely sent to sleep.

The carnival was opened by a theatrical representation, followed by a ball which lasted till seven o'clock in the morning. At the close of the carnival a motley procession paraded the streets of Porto Ferrajo, led by Mallet, the Commandant, who wore, as Sultan, the flowing robes of Pauline, and rode on Napoleon's white horse. But all this was soon to change. On February 12 or 13 a Frenchman, named Fleury de Chaboulon, landed at Elba from a felucca which had sailed from Lerici. He had interviews with Napoleon during the two days of his stay, and immediately after his departure Napoleon gave orders to prepare for his flight. Fleury de Chaboulon had been a government official, and was a devoted adherent of Napoleon. He determined to visit Elba to pay his respects to his former master, but in order that he might be well received he asked for an introduction from Maret, Duke of Bassano. They had a long conversation, which Fleury was authorized to

repeat to Napoleon. Finally Fleury asked: "If the Emperor demands of me whether this is the proper moment for him to return to France, what am I to say?" Maret replied: "I cannot take upon myself to give advice on so important a matter. Explain the state of affairs to the Emperor; he will decide in his wisdom what he had best do."

There can be little doubt that Napoleon had already made up his mind to leave Elba, but that the interview with Fleury hastened his resolution. He took pains to conceal his determination, settling the sum to be spent on road-making up to July, preparing to visit Marciana in June, and spending some time at La Madonna with a guard of men. But he made secret preparations; he ordered two carriages to be taken to pieces, that they might be easily packed on board ship. Pons was directed to bring round two large vessels from Rio laden with lumber. The horses of the Polish cavalry were recalled from Pianosa. Munitions of war were sent on board the Inconstant. On February 22, the Emperor had a conversation with Peyrusse. "What are they saying about me, Peyrusse?" "Your Majesty, the intendant and myself were discussing the possibility of your joining the King of Naples." "You are a couple of fools." Then stroking his cheek, "Have you got much money, Peyrusse? How much does a million of gold weigh? How much 100,000 francs? How much a trunk full of books? Take your trunks, put gold into them, and the books of my library at the top. Pack up yourself, without assistance. Pay everything in silver, say nothing about it." Peyrusse packed his money, amounting to nearly twenty million francs. The next day a quantity of provisions was placed on board the ships. Campbell had left the island on February 16, intending to be absent ten or twelve days. On February 24, the Partridge, Captain Adye, which had conveyed Campbell to Leghorn a week before, appeared on the horizon, and

caused great alarm. But it only brought six English tourists, whom Captain Adye introduced to the Emperor. After an hour's conversation with Napoleon, and some talk with Bertrand, who inquired on what exact date Campbell might be expected, Adye returned to the harbour, and watched the soldiers of the guard planting their trees and vegetables. A soon as his ship was out of sight the embarkation of the arms began again.

On February 25 the arrangements were complete, but the Emperor remained in retirement. Mother, sister, and son dined together at the Mulini, and played cards together after dinner. Suddenly Napoleon left the room and went into the garden, whither his mother followed him. He stopped in his hasty walk and said, "I am leaving Elba to-night for Paris. What do you think of it"? He kissed her brow; she replied, "If you must die, my son, Heaven, which has not allowed you to perish in a repose unworthy of you, will not, I hope, permit you to die by poison, but by the sword." The following day, Sunday, at his accustomed levée, he announced his attention of departure. At nine was held the usual mass. The gardening guards were ordered to continue their labour, so as not to excite suspicion. For some days previously a strict embargo had been laid upon the island. None of Napoleon's suite, excepting, perhaps, Drouot, knew where they were going. He asked Cambronne, "Where are we going to, Cambronne?" and received as answer, "I have never attempted to penetrate the secrets of my sovereign." Madame Mère showed great courage; but Pauline, pale and almost livid, wiped her eyes with her lace pocket-handkerchief, and besought the faithful guards to protect the precious life entrusted to them. The embarkation was nearly completed by eight o'clock. Napoleon drove down from the Mulini to the port in Pauline's pony-carriage, accompanied by Bertrand, and followed by a large number of people on foot. As he entered his boat the Marseillaise

was chanted by the soldiers on board, and repeated from the shore. A cannon-shot announced his arrival. The moon was shining, the sky was clear, the air warm with the breath of spring, and scented by the odour of its flowers. There was not a waft of wind. The little flotilla, consisting of the Inconstant, the Caroline, the Saint Esprit, the little ketch called l'Étoile, the Saint Joseph, and two large feluccas, remained motionless in the harbour. Who does not remember those brilliant Mediterranean nights, when everything is as clear as the day? From Porto Ferrajo his friends gazed with anxiety at the motionless vessel which contained their master and their hopes. Campbell might return and discover everything. But at midnight a breeze sprang up and the semaphore announced a strong south wind at sea. A south wind would bear Napoleon to France, and detain Campbell at Leghorn. The ships were rowed out of the harbour, the sails were spread and filled, and the fateful convoy left for the open sea. In the morning some English tourists visited the Mulini. The palace was empty; Pauline had gone to her mother; the bath used by the Emperor before his departure was still full. By the side of his bed lay the book he was last reading, a history of Charles V. Fragments of torn paper strewed the room, and on the table lay a map of France, on which a route was marked out with pins.

Authorities.—The recent work of Paul Gruyet, on Napoleon at Elba, has been of great service in writing this chapter, also the memoirs of Fleury de Chaboulon, and of Pons de l'Hérault.

CHAPTER XIII

THE MARCH TO PARIS

THE passage between Elba and Corsica was guarded by three French frigates and a brig of war. H.M.S. Partridge and a frigate were in the roads of Leghorn ; other English vessels, stationed at Genoa, might be cruising in these waters. In order to escape these dangers, Napoleon gave orders to the captain of each ship to steer separately for Golfe Juan. As morning broke on February 27, the brig l'Inconstant, which was separated from the others, was on a level with Capraja in the centre of the passage, and the wind was falling. The Partridge was sighted coming from Leghorn, and the Fleur de Lys was on the watch between Capraja and Cape Corso. Taillade, who had commanded the brig, had been placed in charge of the seamen of the guard, and Chambord, who had taken his place, advised an immediate return to Porto Ferrajo. But Napoleon refused to accede. All sails were set and a boat was sunk. Thus lightened, the vessel doubled Cape Corso, when the watch suddenly announced the appearance of a ship of war coming straight to them with the wind behind her. The Emperor called his men to arms. "Let her approach," he said. "If she attacks us we will board her." The ports were opened and the guns loaded, but no other preparations were made. Very soon Taillade recognized the brig le Zephyr, which had often met l'Inconstant in this part of the Mediterranean. It was commanded by Captain Andrieux, an old

THE MULINI PALACE AT PORTO FERRAJO
(From an engraving in Mr. A. M. Broadley's collection)

comrade. The Emperor, who was not desirous of an engagement, ordered the grenadiers to take off their bear-skins, and to lie down on the deck. The two ships passed side by side. Andrieux, accustomed to the sight of the Elban flag, showed no disposition to attack. Taillade hailed his friend through the speaking-trumpet and said, "Where are you going?" "To Leghorn," was the answer; "and you?" "To Genoa. Have you any commissions?" "No. And how is the great man?" "Wonderfully well," was the reply, and the two ships passed.

The following morning at daybreak, a vessel of seventy-four guns was sighted sailing towards Sardinia, but it soon disappeared, hull down. Napoleon was delighted at his good fortune, and said, "It is an Austerlitz day." He no longer concealed the object of his expedition. When Peyrusse was seasick he chaffed him, and said, "Ah! Mr. Treasurer, a little Seine water will soon cure you. We shall be at Paris for the fête-day of the King of Rome." Speaking of his enterprise, which he avowed to be rash, he said: "No example in history would induce me to undertake it. But I have reckoned upon the astonishment of the population, the condition of public feeling, resentment against the allied Powers, the love of my soldiers, and the Napoleonic elements which are still springing up in France. I count on the stupor and the bewilderment which will be the natural result of an enterprise so audacious and unexpected. Men will form a thousand projects, but not come to any decision. I shall reach my goal before any plan has been organized against me." Pointing to Drouot, he remarked: "I know well that if I had followed Le Sage I should never have started; but there are greater dangers in remaining at Porto Ferrajo." He then concluded: "A revolution has broken out at Paris: a provisional government is established. I can count on the whole army. I have received addresses from several regiments." All this was certainly false. But he ended by

the true remark, "I shall arrive in Paris without firing a shot."

A little after midday he left his cabin and came on deck, holding in his hand the manuscripts of his two proclamations to the French people and the army, and the proclamation of the soldiers of the Guard to their comrades. The quartermaster assembled all the grenadiers who could write, and dictated these manifestoes to them. When the copies were completed, some twenty officers and non-commissioned officers were summoned to the Emperor's cabin to sign the proclamation to the army. This is not inconsistent with the fact that Napoleon had taken the precaution to have these documents printed at Porto Ferrajo. Indeed, the text of the printed proclamation and that which was signed on board differed in terms.

The wind freshened: the ship moved swiftly. The snow of the Alps appeared on the horizon. The Emperor decorated Chambord and Taillade with the Cross of the Legion of Honour. He said also that he would decorate all the officers and soldiers who had followed him to Elba, and who had served four years in the Guard. A red signal flag was cut up into pieces for this purpose. At about 9 p.m. some ship lights were observed belonging to the flotilla. When he had assured himself on this point, Napoleon went into his cabin to finish a game of chess with Bertrand, which Napoleon won.

At daybreak on March 1, the flotilla was off the Cap d'Antibes. The Emperor appeared on deck with the tricolour cockade in his hat, which the soldiers also adopted. The French tricolour replaced the Elban flag in all the vessels, and was loudly cheered. At 1 p.m. the ships anchored in Golfe Juan. Early in the morning the Emperor had sent Captain Lamouret, with twenty grenadiers and chasseurs, a lieutenant, and a drummer, in a boat to take possession of the Gabelle battery, which was found unarmed. The grenadiers landed without opposition, and

marched along the road from Cannes to Antibes, a fortified town situated on a peninsula. A certain Captain Bertrand approached the fortress of Antibes in civil costume, carrying the proclamation, having been sent by Drouot in the hope of gaining the fortress. Bertrand was stopped in the town by a non-commissioned officer, whom he endeavoured to corrupt, and taken to the major of the 87th. The colonel, Cuneo d'Ornano, informed of what had happened, arrested Bertrand. At this moment Lamouret with his twenty soldiers arrived at the royal gate of the fortress, and demanded entrance to the citadel. Cuneo d'Ornano was in a difficulty, for his soldiers were exercising with their muskets stopped up, and the soldiers of the guard had no ammunition. He therefore had resource to stratagem. He kept Lamouret for a short time in conversation, and then allowed him and his men to enter. The moment they had done so the drawbridge was raised. The grenadiers could not resist superior force. They were carried to the curtain, where they were disarmed.

In the meantime the 1100 men which formed the Imperial army had disembarked. The army of Elba consisted of 607 grenadiers and chasseurs of the Old Guard, 118 light Polish cavalry, 21 sailors of the guard, 43 gunners, 400 Corsican chasseurs, and about 30 officers unattached, making a total of 1219 men; but from this about a hundred had to be deducted. They landed mostly in boats, but some in their impatience plunged into the sea. They reached land close to the tower of the Gabelle. By 4 p.m. they were all bivouacking in a grove of olives, which still exists, between the high road and the sea. The treasure, the baggage, the guns, and the horses had still to be landed. Napoleon, who was one of the last to leave the ship, sat on a camp arm-chair, close to the fire which his soldiers had lighted. The moment he landed he sent Cambronne to Cannes with forty men to stop all com-

munication, and to purchase all the horses and mules he could find. He said: "Cambronne, I entrust to you the advanced guard of my most illustrious campaign. Do not fire a single shot. Remember that I wish to regain my crown without shedding a drop of blood."

Napoleon had already formed his plan of march, and on February 28 had announced on board l'Inconstant that his first objective would be Grenoble, a district which he had reason to believe would be favourable to him. After sitting for some time by the fire, he went to the high road, where he conversed with the wagoners and the peasants, and with two men of the 87th, who had deserted to join him. He heard that Lamouret and his soldiers had been captured. He sent two other officers to demand their release, but they were also made prisoners. Urged to capture Antibes, he replied: "The time is too precious—we must hasten on. The best means of remedying the bad impression of Antibes is to march quicker than the news. You form a wrong judgment on the nature of my enterprise. If half my soldiers were made prisoners at Antibes, I would leave them all the same. If all were, I would march by myself."

About midnight the men had cleaned their arms, eaten their soup, and received a fortnight's pay. A column was formed, and reached Cannes by a magnificent moonlight night. At Cannes it was at first believed that a number of Algerian pirates had landed, and the inhabitants barricaded their houses. Cambronne's arrival dissipated their fears, but aroused new terrors. The crowd pressed round his grenadiers and questioned them with more anxiety than sympathy. Only the schoolboys were enthusiastic. As Cambronne was conversing with the postmaster and the mayor, a berline arrived from Aix. It contained the Duke of Valentinois, returning to his principality of Monaco. Cambronne made him get out, and imprisoned him in the Hôtel de la Poste. The troops, arriving at

1 a.m., halted before reaching the first houses at the place where the road to Grasse branches off. The night was very cold. Napoleon ordered fires to be lighted. The whole population came out to see him, and pressed closely round him, too closely indeed. He ordered his grenadiers gently to remove the crowd, and stood by the fire, kicking it with his boots. The Prince of Monaco was brought to him. "Come with us, Monaco," Napoleon called, laughing. "But, sire, I am going home." "So am I," said Napoleon. After a halt of about two hours, the column continued its march to Grasse, without entering Cannes.

Grasse was ill-prepared for resistance. On inquiring, it was found that the town had only thirty muskets, of which only five would go off, and not a single cartridge. Cambronne arrived with the advanced guard. Fifteen hundred people assembled in the streets, "many old heads and white ribbons." The mayor asked him in the name of what sovereign he made his requisition. Cambronne having answered "Napoleon," the mayor replied, "We have our sovereign, and we love him." Cambronne then said, "Monsieur le Maire, I am not come to talk politics with you, but to ask for rations, because my column will be here immediately." The mayor was not in a position to refuse.

Napoleon advanced very slowly, being doubtful of his reception in a town of 12,000 inhabitants. Arriving at Mouans, a village half-way between Cannes and Grasse, he stopped, hearing the bell ring, and did not proceed till he had been assured by a wagoner that it was for a funeral. When he sighted Grasse, he marched round the town and halted a mile off, on the plateau of Roccavignon, now well known to tourists under the name of the Plateau de Napoleon. The population brought wine for the soldiers, and flowers, especially violets, which were just in bloom, the Emperor's favourite flower. A blind old officer was led by his wife and asked permission to kiss the Emperor's

hand. Napoleon embraced him. At the bivouac of Grasse he heard for the first time the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" from French throats.

From Grasse to Digne, about 40 miles distant, there was only a mountain track, a carriageable road which Napoleon had projected as Emperor not having been made. Therefore Napoleon abandoned his four guns, which were sent to Antibes as a trophy, together with the berline which had brought the treasure from Golfe Juan. Peyrusse attached his sacks of gold and his papers to mules. The march was difficult, as the mountains were covered with snow. The lancers advanced with great labour, being embarrassed by their spurs, their sabres, and their lances, carrying their saddles as bundles on their shoulders. They were also obliged to lead their horses. Napoleon walked with a staff in his hand and slipped several times. A grenadier said, "It will not do for Jean l'Epée (a nickname) to sprain his ankle; he must first become again Jean de Paris." After a halt at Saint Vallier, they reached Sernon, about 4000 feet above the level of the sea, at 8 p.m., having marched 30 miles in 20 hours. The Emperor arrived at Castellane, a more important place, on March 3, about 11 a.m. Cambronne had previously written: "Monsieur, I beg you to give orders to furnish immediately 5000 rations of bread, 5000 of meat, 5000 of wine, 40 four-horse carts, or 200 baggage mules. His Majesty will be at Castellane at 10 a.m. Signed, Baron de Cambronne, General of Brigade, Major of the Imperial Guard." The sous-préfet and the mayor did their best. Emery the doctor was now sent on to Grenoble, and Pons de l'Hérault to Marseilles. Late at night they halted at Barrème, a distance of another 30 miles. The snow fell heavily. One of Peyrusse's mules fell, and was killed, with his burden of 300,000 francs, of which only 263,000 were recovered. Leaving Barrème amongst the cheers of the crowd, Napoleon arrived at Digne in the afternoon and stopped some hours at the inn of Petit Paris.

He was received at first very coldly, but excited the inhabitants by a speech. A new supply of the proclamation was printed, and Bertrand wrote to the commander of the 87th, to urge him to join the Emperor; but between Golfe Juan and the Durance Napoleon only gained four recruits, the two soldiers of Antibes, a tanner from Grasse, and a gendarme.

At Digne they regained the high road which led to Gap and Grenoble, and the Emperor divided his small force into three divisions. At the head marched Colonel Mallet, with three companies of the chasseurs-à-pied of the Old Guard, the sailors and the Polish lancers, mounted and unmounted, for most of them only acquired horses between Digne and La Mure. Next came the three companies of grenadiers, under Captain Loubers, the gunners, and the 30 officers unattached. With this body were the Emperor, the staff, and the military chest. The rear-guard under Guasco was composed of the 300 fusiliers of the Corsican battalion. Cambronne as before marched in front of the little army to procure lodgings and food. On the evening of March 4 the column bivouacked at Malijaï, 12 miles from Digne, close to the Durance, Cambronne having advanced as far as Sisteron, on the same river, which had been left unguarded This town he entered at 1 a.m. on March 5, with his forty *grognards*. The mayor refused any payment for the rations, and with the sous-préfet went to meet Napoleon, who reached the town before midday. Seeing the cross of the Order of the Lily on the mayor's coat, he said, "Do not wear that decoration whilst I am here, as my soldiers might insult you." He also said, when the sous-préfet complained of the conscription, "I know that I have committed many follies, but I come to repair them all. My people shall be happy." He left Sisteron amid cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" and several officers joined his column. That evening he slept at Gap, and on the following day, March 6, found himself at Corps on the Drac, only a long march distant from Grenoble.

The news of Napoleon's landing reached Paris at midday on March 5. Vitrolles gave the despatch, sealed, to Louis XVIII, who, after having read it, threw it on the table, saying without emotion, "It is Bonaparte, who has landed on the coast of Provence. Take this letter to the Minister of War; he will see what has to be done." Soult would not believe the news, and the Comte d'Artois went quietly to church to hear vespers. The Council, however, met in the evening and determined that Monsieur should go to Lyons to take command of the troops, that his sons, the Dukes of Berry and Angoulême, should command the left and the right wings, Gouvion Saint Cyr, Macdonald, and Ney being sent to assist them. D'Artois left at midnight; and the Duc d'Orléans was despatched after him to get him away from Paris. The next day the King summoned the Chambers and declared Napoleon an outlaw. On March 7 he told the foreign ministers to announce to their Courts that there was no danger. The royalists thought that everything would be over in a week. General Miollis reached Sisteron forty hours after Napoleon had passed, but he thought it possible that he would be stopped by the garrison at Grenoble, and that he would be able to cut off his retreat. He sent some soldiers to Gap. Loverdo held the line of the Durance. Masséna said, "Bonaparte is in a trap. This will be the end of his mad exploit." A captain of the 83rd wrote to a friend: "We failed to catch the monster at Sisteron; the Colonel had promised 50 louis to the soldier who should kill him."

Opinion in Dauphiné was strongly in favour of the Emperor. At Sisteron the crowd cried "Vive l'Empereur!" At Gap the garrison had to be withdrawn to Embrun. At Saint Bonnet the inhabitants wished to sound the tocsin, but Napoleon said, "No! your sentiments are for me a sure guarantee of the sentiments of my soldiers. Those whom I meet will join me. The larger my number, the more my success will be secured. Remain quietly in

your homes." Whilst Napoleon slept peacefully at Corps on March 6, a village only six miles from the pilgrimage church of La Salette, Cambronne advanced sixteen miles to the little town of La Mure, where he arrived at midnight. Here he found preparations for resistance. Grenoble was arming for defence under the leadership of General Marchand and the préfet who was the celebrated mathematician Fourier. They had both been devoted servants of Napoleon, but had now transferred their allegiance to the Bourbons, but their soldiers gave signs of mutiny. The 4th regiment of artillery, in which Napoleon had served as lieutenant, hesitated to defend the monarchy. Marchand therefore kept his troops at Grenoble, and only despatched a small detachment to La Mure, where Napoleon arrived on the morning of March 7, escorted by his Polish lancers. Here Napoleon talked with the mayor, fraternized with the soldiers and drank with them. He was a thorough soldier himself, and knew how to touch the soldier's heart.

In a defile at Laffray, about five miles from La Mure, where there is a narrow road between lake and hills, his troops found a battalion of infantry drawn up in order of battle, commanded by Delessart, who was Marchand's nephew, a youth of nineteen years of age. Here a scene scarcely paralleled in the annals of the world occurred. Napoleon, who had ridden up with his lancers, got off his horse and walked up and down the road surveying the soldiers with his glass. An officer of Napoleon's guard approached and began to parley. Delessart said to him, "I am determined to do my duty, and if you do not immediately withdraw I will have you arrested." "But will you fire?" said the officer. "I will do my duty," replied Delessart. The Emperor's aide-de-camp Raoul approached and said to the battalion, "The Emperor is marching upon you. If you fire, the first shot will be for him. You will answer for it before France." The soldiers stood dumb and motionless, like a row of statues. The

Polish lancers advanced to surround the battalion, and the bearskins of the Old Guard were seen. Napoleon ordered his soldiers to carry their muskets under their left arm, and then alone at the head of his veterans he advanced towards the battalion. Captain Randon cried, "There he is! Fire!" The soldiers were livid, their limbs shook and their hands trembled. When he was within pistol-shot Napoleon said, "Soldiers of the fifth regiment, recognize me." Then advancing a few steps he opened his overcoat and continued, "If there is amongst you a soldier who wishes to kill his Emperor, he can do it—here I am." A great shout arose of "Vive l'Empereur!" The ranks were broken, white cockades strewed the ground, shakos were elevated at the point of the bayonet, the soldiers rushed to their Emperor, surrounded him, cheered him, knelt down before him, stroked his boots, his sword and the hem of his garments. Randon set spurs to his horse and rode away, Delessart broke into tears and surrendered his sword to the Emperor, who embraced and comforted him. Napoleon then addressed the battalion. "Soldiers, I am coming amongst you with a handful of brave men, because I count on the people and on you. The throne of the Bourbons is illegitimate, because it has not been raised by the nation. Your fathers are threatened with the return of tithes, privileges and feudal rights. Is it not true, citizens?" "Yes! yes!" cried the peasants and the troops. At this moment a captain of the National Guard, decorated with an enormous tricolour, galloped up, and, dismounting, said to the Emperor, "Sire, I am Jean Dumoulin, a glover: I bring to your Majesty a hundred thousand francs in my arms." "Remount your horse," replied Napoleon. "I accept your services." The whole body of troops then advanced together towards Grenoble, Napoleon's army and those who were sent to oppose him, the peasants welcoming them with shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" Surely this is one of the great scenes of history!

THE DEFILE OF LAFFRAY. MARCH 7, 1815

(From an engraving in Mr. A. M. Broadley's collection)

At Grenoble La Bédoyère became the hero of the situation. He was a distinguished officer under thirty years of age. He was in command of the 7th regiment, but his allegiance to the King was deeply shaken. Suddenly drawing his sword he cried, "To me! soldiers of the 7th regiment—I will show you the way. Forwards! Let him who loves me follow me." The soldiers cried, "Vive l'Empereur," and marched out of the Roman gate like a torrent. Once out of the town, he halted his soldiers, made them form a square and present arms. Then he drew from his pocket the eagle of the regiment, which had been preserved as a relic, and showed it to the troops. The soldiers cheered the eagle, the colonel, and the Emperor, and continued their march, the eagle shining brilliantly before them at the end of a willow branch. Napoleon himself arrived at 7 p.m., accompanied by 200 peasants as well as the troops. Marchand did his best to defend the town, but was met with cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" The gates were closed. Napoleon rode up with La Bédoyère and said, "I order you to open." Rousille, who was in command, replied, "I receive no orders except from the General." Napoleon said, "I cashier you." Rousille answered, "I know my duty. I will only obey my General." The gate could not be opened, as Marchand held the keys, so it was forced by a battering-ram. The resistance lasted two hours. Napoleon entered the town, and refusing to lodge at the Préfecture, alighted at the hotel of Les Trois Dauphins, kept by an old soldier of his. They brought him the fragments of the Porte de Bonne, and said, "As we cannot bring you the keys of your good town of Grenoble, we bring you the gate itself." Napoleon remained at Grenoble thirty-six hours. His position was now assured. He had possession of an important city and five regiments. He said at St. Helena, "Up to Grenoble I was an adventurer, at Grenoble I was a prince."

The following day Napoleon received the municipal council, the judges, the clergy, and the academy. He held long discussions with the professors of law. His language was, "My rights are only those of the people. We must forget that we have been masters of Europe. I shall always forget everything that individuals have done, said or written since the taking of Paris." He then held a review. The troops cried, "Vive l'Empereur!" "A bas les Bourbons!" "Vive la liberté!" They all wore tricolour cockades, old and faded, which they had kept as a sacred deposit in their knapsacks. As they passed before the Emperor, they cried, pointing to the emblem of glory, "It is the cockade of Austerlitz; it is the cockade of Friedland; I wore it at Marengo."

Napoleon entered Lyons on March 10, the Comte d'Artois, the Duke of Orléans, and Marshal Macdonald having been obliged to make their escape. Arriving at 9 p.m. he occupied the apartments in the Archbishop's palace, which the King's brother had left that morning. To reach it, an eye-witness tells us, he had to pass over the heads of the crowd.

On March 12 Soult resigned his post as Minister of War, the King assuring him that he did not doubt of his fidelity. As he stood on the landing of the great staircase, surrounded by courtiers, he cried three times, raising his cap, "Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi! Vive le Roi!" He was succeeded by Clarke, Duke of Feltre, who had been Minister of War under Napoleon, but was now a fanatical royalist. At Vienna the first news of Napoleon's escape had arrived on the night of March 6–7. The next day the sovereigns were agreed upon their action. On March 9 it was learnt that he had landed at Golfe Juan. Talleyrand drew up a declaration, which on March 13 was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the eight Powers. It ran thus: "The sovereigns of Europe, although intimately persuaded that the whole of France rallying round its legitimate

sovereign will reduce to nothingness this last attempt of a criminal and impotent delirium, declare that if, contrary to all calculation, any danger may result from this event, they will be ready to give to the King of France and to the French nation the assistance necessary for restoring tranquillity. The Powers declare that in breaking the convention which had established him in the island of Elba, Napoleon Bonaparte has destroyed the only legal title to which his existence was attached, and that in reappearing in France he has placed himself outside the pale of civil and social relations, and that he is delivered to public vengeance as the enemy and disturber of the world's repose." It is painful to think that Wellington should have brought himself to sign this inhuman document, which was strongly condemned in the English Parliament.

At Lyons Napoleon behaved as if he were already on the throne. He harangued the people, reviewed the troops, received the municipal council, the judges, the clergy, the faculties. He appointed and dismissed functionaries, he issued decrees proscribing the royal flag and the white cockade, abolished nobility and feudal titles, suppressed the orders of Saint Louis and Saint Esprit, dissolved the Swiss regiments and the Royal Household, and brought back the tricolour flag; sequestered the public property of the Bourbon Princes, and banished from French territory all emigrés who had returned since the invasion. He also abolished the House of Peers and dissolved the Chamber of Deputies. When he left the city on March 13 he was accompanied by a surging crowd. At Villefranche, which had then only 3000 inhabitants, he was met by 60,000 Frenchmen who had flocked to see him. Two peasants preserved the bones of the chicken which Napoleon had eaten for lunch. From Villefranche Napoleon went to sleep at Mâcon. He reminded the citizens that they had surrendered their town to a small body of Austrians.

"You did not sustain the honour of Burgundians." "Sire," was the reply, "we were feebly directed: you gave us a bad mayor." "It is possible," said the Emperor. "We have all committed follies. We must forget them, and only occupy ourselves with the welfare and happiness of France," Similar triumphs awaited him at Tournus and Châlons.

Ney had arrived at Besançon on March 10, having promised the King that he would bring Bonaparte back in an iron cage. He repeated this to a sous-préfet, who remarked that it would be better to bring him back dead. "No," he replied. "You do not know the Parisians: they must see him." "Indeed," he added, "it is very fortunate that the man of Elba has attempted his mad enterprise, for it will be the last act of his tragedy—the dénouement of the Napoleonade." But he had few soldiers and no instructions. The Duc de Berri was to have taken the command at Besançon, but had not left Paris. In the night of March 11–12 Ney left for Lons-le-Saulnier. Here he appears to have been deeply affected by reading Napoleon's proclamation. He was fired by Napoleon's words, and only wished that he was serving a master who could write in a similar strain. Ney had now under him 6000 men, spread over 100 miles, and Napoleon had 14,000 men all in his hand. Ney was, however, confident of victory. He said, "I will seize a musket and fire the first shot, and every one will march." But his soldiers were deserting him. Even his own troops shouted, "Vive l'Empereur!" He was advised to join Masséna to attack Napoleon in the rear, or to march to Chambéry to support the Swiss; but he objected. "If foreigners set their foot in France, all Frenchmen will declare for Bonaparte." Soon, however, he began to waver. An autograph letter from Napoleon reached him. "My cousin, my major-general sends you marching orders. I am certain that the moment you have heard of my arrival at Lyons, you made

your soldiers resume the tricolour flag. Do what Bertrand orders you and come to join me at Châlons. I will receive you as on the morn of the battle of the Moskova." Ney passed a feverish night with a warring conscience, increased by the agonies of irresolution. But his fiery nature was prompt to quick decision, and he threw himself into the abyss as he had before thrown himself at the cannon's mouth. Dominated by a fatal situation, he submitted to it, not without pain, but without resistance. He could not bear to give the signal for a civil war. He said at his trial: "I was in the midst of the tempest: I lost my head."

On the morning of March 14 Ney sent for Lecourbe and Bourmont to ask for their advice, but it was really to urge them to follow his example. They resisted in vain, and, finding it impossible to secure the obedience of the soldiers, agreed to join him. The troops were summoned at 1 p.m. to the Place d'Armes. They formed a square, with the officers in their midst. The drums beat. The soldiers were sad and pale, looking as when in the first days of the Revolution they had menaced their generals. Ney drew his sword, and said in a loud voice, "Officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers, the cause of the Bourbons is for ever lost." A great shout of "Vive l'Empereur!" broke from the four faces of the square. The Marshal continued, "The legitimate dynasty which the nation has adopted is about to ascend the throne. The Emperor Napoleon alone has the right to reign over our fair country. I am now about to take you to the immortal phalanx which the Emperor is leading to Paris." The speech was received with cheers. All the soldiers applauded. Ney threw himself into the arms of the officers who surrounded him, and then into those of the common soldiers. He ran about like a madman, kissing even the fifers and drummers. Only a few of the higher officers resisted the prevailing impulse and left the army. In the evening the whole town was given up to merriment, and

even disorder. Ney invited to dinner his generals and staff. The feast was a cheerful one: only the host was depressed. His conscience pricked him. He said on his trial, "After that unhappy proclamation I wished only for death; I desired often to blow my brains out."

Next morning, March 15, Ney marched on Dôle and Dijon, while Napoleon left Châlons to sleep at Autun. Here the mayor attempted resistance, but Napoleon said to him, "By what right did you threaten the citizens, because they wore the national colours? How did you dare to rebel against me? I dismiss you. You allowed yourself to be led by the priests and the nobles who wished to restore titles and feudal rights. I will dispense justice on them. I will 'lantern' them. My power is more legitimate than that of the Bourbons, because I hold it from the people whose cries you hear." A remark in which there was much truth. On March 16 the Emperor entered Avallon. From this moment the rebellion was irresistible. At Auxerre, where he arrived on March 17, the préfet Gamot was awaiting him at the entrance of the town with the authorities and the whole population. The regiment presented arms. In the drawing-room of the préfecture he found busts of the Emperor and the King of Rome and his own portrait in the coronation robes. It was here that the meeting between the Emperor and the Marshal took place. It was very embarrassing for Ney, but Napoleon did his best to put him at his ease. He said, "Embrace me, my dear Marshal. I am delighted to see you, and desire neither explanation nor justification." Ney, after a few clumsy excuses, said, "I love you well, sire; but our country before everything! before everything! Your Majesty is sure that we will support it, because with justice we can do anything we like with the French. But we must no longer think of conquests, we must only think of the happiness of France." The Emperor interrupted him by declaring that he also was

a patriot, that he had returned from Elba in the sole interest of the country, and that he would give to the French everything that they expected of him. He also called Ney "Le brave des braves." Ney was not sorry to return to Dijon next morning with orders to march on Paris by Joigny and Melun.

Napoleon knew by intercepted correspondence that the royalists were engaged in vigorous attempts to assassinate him. His soldiers were becoming furious, and might bring on the conflict which he was anxious to avoid. He therefore wrote to General Giraud, who was appointed to the command of the advanced guard: "I am told that your troops have determined to cut down the royalists. You will meet nothing but Frenchmen. I forbid you to fire a single shot. Calm your soldiers; deny the rumour which exasperates them. Tell them I refuse to enter my capital at their head if their arms are stained with French blood." At Auxerre he embarked part of his army on barges and rafts, to spare them the fatigue of the march. In order to keep in touch with those who were proceeding by road, they had to sail day and night. They reached Pont-sur-Yonne on the night of March 19.

The monarchy fell to pieces like a house of cards. All the measures taken against Napoleon were either a dead letter or turned against the government. The troops sent to stop his march had formed the army of the invader. A placard was attached to the Vendôme Column: "Napoleon to Louis XVIII. My good brother, it is useless to send any more troops: I have enough." On the morning of March 16, the Chambers were told that there would be a royal sitting in the afternoon. The report spread through Paris, and the quays were thronged with people. The King entered his carriage at 3 p.m., with the Comte d'Artois, the Duc de Berri, and the Duc d'Orléans. He wore the Star of the Legion of Honour for the first time. "You see it, sir," he said to the Duc d'Orléans. "Yes,

sir," he replied; "I see it with pleasure, but I could have wished that it had been assumed earlier." The King was absorbed in repeating to himself the speech which he was about to deliver. It ran thus: "I have worked hard for the happiness of my people. Could I, at the age of sixty, terminate my career better than in dying for its defence? I fear nothing for myself, but I fear for France. He who has just lighted amongst us the torch of civil war, brings also the curse of foreign war. He will place our country under an iron yoke. He will destroy the Constitutional Charter which I had given you; the Charter which all Frenchmen cherish, and which I swear here to maintain. Let us rally around it, and let it be our sacred standard; let the united actions of the two Chambers give to authority all necessary force, and this truly national war will prove by its happy issue what a great people can do, brought together by the love of its king and the fundamental law of the Empire." This speech, which was manly and straightforward, produced a great effect; every one rose to his feet, crying: "Vive le Roi! Mourir pour le Roi! Le Roi à la vie, à la mort!" The Comte d'Artois then approached the King and said, "Permit me to state here, in my name and in that of my family, how much we share from the bottom of our heart the sentiments and the principles which animate the King." Then turning towards the assembly, he said, "We swear on our honour to live and to die, faithful to our King and to our Constitutional Charter, which secures the happiness of the French." The Duc de Berri, the Duc d'Orléans, and the aged Duc de Condé stood up in their turns, and said: "I swear." The King held out his hand to the Comte d'Artois, who kissed it, and the two brothers then embraced. It was the first time that Monsieur, as he was called, had pronounced the word *Charte* in public.

Little, however, could be done. The royalist ladies left Paris, and the Rouen road recalled the memories of the

old emigration. Bourienne was ordered to arrest Fouché, who had entered into a conspiracy to make the Duc d'Orléans lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Fouché behaved to the police as Napoleon did to his grenadiers. He told the emissary that the warrant for arrest was not in order, asked leave to go into his study, went into the garden by a secret staircase, climbed over a wall and concealed himself with a friend. The other victims, Davout, Maret, Reille, Lavalette, Flahaut, Exelmans, were let alone. Marmont's plan was to convert the Tuileries into a fortress, in which the King should defend himself while the Princes left Paris for the provinces. But the King, referring to the dignified conduct of the Senate when Rome was captured by the Gauls, said: "You wish me to sit on a curule chair: I am neither of that opinion nor of that disposition." In the meantime panic reigned in Paris. The funds, which at the news of Napoleon's landing had fallen from 78·75 to 71·25, were now between 68–66. All confidence had disappeared.

On the evening of March 18, news was brought to the Tuileries that the army of the Duc de Berri had mutinied, and the troops could no longer be depended upon. The 6th Lancers who formed the advanced guard had occupied the bridge of Montereau for the Emperor. Napoleon had already passed beyond Auxerre. The defection of Ney was already known at the Court. The King hesitated no longer, and determined to leave Paris on the following day. He arranged to review his household troops at midday and then to proceed to Lille under the escort of his squadrons. The population of this portion of France were royalists, and Lille was close to the frontier. The review was carried out according to programme, but the departure was delayed till nightfall. The King said, "There is no occasion for the sun to shine upon the disgrace of this flight." The next day, which was Palm Sunday, the King drove in front of the troops at full speed in a carriage, and returned

to the Tuileries, which was guarded by the National Guard. The ministers prepared to follow their King. In their haste they left behind the letters written by Talleyrand from Vienna, and the original treaty against Russia, which was found and read by Napoleon. A little before midnight a dozen carriages entered the courtyard of the Tuileries. The berline destined for the King halted under the canopy of the Pavillon de Flore. The National Guard, mingled with the adherents of the Court, were standing in the vestibule and on the steps of the staircase, all in solemn silence. The door of the private apartments opened, and the King came out supported by the Comte de Blacas and the Duc de Duras, and attended by a servant carrying a torch. The spectators cried "Vive le Roi!" in such feeble sort as their tears and sobs would permit. One said, "He is wearing a crown of thorns." The King nearly broke down and said to Blacas that this emotion ought to have been spared him. He then said, "My children, your attachment touches me. But I need all my strength. I pray you spare me—return to your families. I shall see you again before long." He went into his carriage, the Comte d'Artois mounted his post-chaise, the Duc de Berri and Marmont rode off to the Barrière de l'Étoile. All the ministers left the same night.

Napoleon was now at Fontainebleau, where he had arrived at 10 a.m., having left Pont-sur-Yonne early in the morning. He quitted the Palace at 2 p.m., and on arriving at La Cour-de-France, where he had heard scarcely a year before of the capitulation of Paris, held a review. At Paris, the Tuileries had been invaded by the crowd from early in the morning. But their temper was rather to pity the King than to restore the Empire. A number of royalists, seeing the tricolour cockade worn by an officer on half-pay, made an attack upon him. At 10 a.m. a mob came into the Caroussel crying, "Vive l'Empereur! A bas la garde nationale! A bas la Calotte!" Exelmans now came up

and gained possession of the Tuileries, where he hoisted the tricolour flag, and at the same time he allowed the National Guard to keep their posts. At 2 p.m. the three colours were floating from the Hôtel de Ville and from the column in the Place Vendôme. The shops, even those of the Palais Royal and the Rue de la Paix, substituted the eagle and the bees of the Emperor for the lilies of the King. The bourgeoisie were sad and discontented, and lamented poor Louis XVIII, so good and so honest a man. But on that day the funds rose from 68 to 73.

The household of the Imperial Court began to make its appearance. Counsellors of State, ministers, chamberlains, equerries, masters of the ceremonies in grand uniforms, cooks, butlers, servants with their Imperial liveries, ladies of the Palace, wives of dignitaries, generals and functionaries clothed in ermine, diamonds and court robes, invaded the Salle des Maréchaux, the Galerie de Diane, the Salle du Trône. In this apartment, finding that the lilies of Louis had only been sewn over the bees of Napoleon, they tore them off, and in less than half an hour the decoration was changed. There were collected there the Duc de Bassano, the Duc de Plaisance, the Duc de Rovigo, Lavalette, Decrès, Daru, Regnault de Saint Jean d'Angély, Ségur, grand master of the ceremonies, Davout, Lefebvre, Exelmans, the Queen Hortense of Holland, and the Queen Julie of Spain. All were waiting for their master.

There was a thick fog and a drizzle of rain, but the crowd could see the windows of the Tuileries illuminated. About 9 p.m. a distant sound of horses was heard. A post-chaise entered the courtyard at a swift trot, surrounded by a thousand horsemen of all regiments, crying hoarsely, "Vive l'Empereur!" The door was opened: Napoleon was torn out of the carriage and carried forcibly up the staircase, nearly stifled in the process. He made no resistance, but shut his eyes and stretched out his arms, advancing with a smile on his lips as if he were in a trance.

At length he reached his study, and the doors were closed against the crowd. Little by little the assembly dispersed, and all became silent. The horsemen tied up their steeds to the iron railings and slept on the ground, enveloped in their cloaks. The Tuileries bore the appearance of a town taken by assault.

Such was the return from Elba, one of the most marvellous episodes in history. No preparations had been made for it, no conspiracy brought it about, no one was in the plot. It could not have been known to Masséna, who did not proclaim the Empire till three weeks after March 20, nor to Marchand, who did his best to defend Grenoble, nor to La Bédoyère, who begged his master to stay at Chambéry, nor to Ney, who promised to bring him back in an iron cage, nor to Soult, who did his utmost to organize resistance. It was resolved upon and arranged by Napoleon alone, and it surprised Bonapartists as much as Bourbonists. It was a movement of the people, assisted by the army. The people, irritated by the arrogance of the government, by the threats and the claims of the priests and the nobles, who treated France like a conquered country, followed the cockade of 1789. The soldiers, who idolized their Emperor, followed the lead of the people. The hatred of the peasants against the *ancien régime*, and the devotion of the soldiers for their master, welded them together in a common action. People and army marched side by side. It has been said that, considering the opinion prevailing in these two bodies, the enterprise of the Emperor could not fail to succeed. But this does not diminish the credit due to him who foresaw the result, and who dared to risk the chance of failure. In whatever light we regard it we must consider it as the greatest tribute to the genius of Napoleon, and as the most impressive form of plebiscite. What could give Napoleon a more complete right to reign over France, if sovereignty is ever to be founded on the basis of a nation's will, than the fact that,

landing on the coast of France with 1100 men and 4 horses, he marched from triumph to triumph, from recognition to recognition, until he entered the palace of his capital, to find his court and ministers around him, a palace decorated and illuminated for the reception of its sovereign? And what could give him a stronger intellectual claim to resume the sceptre than the fact that he had foreseen all this in the solitude of his study at Porto Ferrajo, and had predicted, with a truth and accuracy rare in political prophecy, that his eagles would fly from steeple to steeple of his beloved France until they alighted on the towers of Nôtre Dame?

Authorities.— Besides the authorities above mentioned, the memoirs of the treasurer, Peyrusse, are of great service. Houssaye has been closely followed.

CHAPTER XIV

THE ARMING OF EUROPE

NAPOLEON was able to nominate his ministers on the very night of his arrival. Maret, Duc de Bassano, became Secretary of State, Decrès took charge of the Marine, Gaudin of the Finances, and Mollien of the Public Treasury. Molé refused to be Grand Judge, and became director of "ponts et chaussées." Cambacérès was made Minister of Justice. It is remarkable that Maret, Gaudin, and Cambacérès were all original members of the Consular Government immediately after Brumaire 18. Davout consented with some reluctance to be Minister of War. He went to his office in the Rue St. Dominique the same night. Caulaincourt accepted the portfolio of Foreign Affairs. Napoleon was anxious to appoint to the post of head of the police, Savary, Duc de Rovigo, but he refused it. Fouché claimed it. He arrived at the Tuileries on the night of March 20, saying, "Entry for M. Fouché, the man whom it is most important the Emperor should see at this moment." It was necessary that Napoleon should choose between employing him or having him for a bitter enemy. He gave him the ministry of police, but he appointed to the préfecture of police and to the general inspection of the gendarmerie, Riel and Rovigo, two men on whom he could depend and who he believed would be able to hold Fouché in check. Carnot was made Minister of the Interior, and created count, to take away the flavour of

his revolutionary antecedents. On March 21, the *Journal de l'Empire* said: "The Bourbon family has gone away in the night. Paris shows to-day the aspect of security and joy. Cries of Vive l'Empereur! are heard on every side." Thus the Imperial Government was constituted. But two-thirds of France still recognized the authority of Louis XVIII. Napoleon was anxious to drive that sovereign from the frontier in order to prevent a civil war in the north, where the English, who were concentrated in Belgium, and the Dutch-Belgians of the Prince of Orange, might assist the royalist population. On the night of March 20, Napoleon ordered Davout to telegraph by semaphore to the northern towns to refuse an entrance to the King, the Princes, and their agents. He also ordered Exelmans, by word of mouth, to pursue the remains of the royal army with his cavalry.

The King had left Paris intending to proceed to Lille, but on the road he changed his mind and determined to take refuge in England. He therefore slept at Abbeville, but after conferring with Macdonald he again resolved to go to Lille, where the Duc d'Orléans commanded the troops of the division of the north. Louis XVIII arrived at this fortress at midday on March 22, accompanied by Blacas, Berthier, Macdonald, and others. The soldiers received him with silence: not a cry was heard from their ranks; they kept their eyes fixed on the ground, as if they wished to avoid even seeing the royal procession. Louis was frightened. As soon as he alighted from the carriage he asked Orléans and Mortier if they thought he was safe. They could not assure him that he was. He then asked if there was any immediate danger. "No, sire," said Mortier, "but the danger might come from one moment to another. At present there is no danger." The King dined at 6 p.m., and the Prince de Condé, who had just arrived, gravely asked him whether he intended to perform the ceremony of washing the feet of twelve poor

men on the following day, which was Maundy Thursday. After a long discussion he determined to leave the town. Mortier and Macdonald refused to quit France. Orléans asked the King for orders, and was told that he might do whatever he pleased. "Well," Orléans answered, "I will remain here as long as I have some hope of being able to maintain your cause. I fear that it will not be long. Then I will go to England to join my wife and my children." The King left at three o'clock. There was some difficulty in getting the gates opened. Macdonald, on taking leave, said, "Au revoir, sire, in three months." As Houssaye remarks, how much blood was to be shed before that wish could be realized!

The household troops were finally disbanded at Béthune, five days after Napoleon had entered the Tuileries. By this time the Imperial Government had been recognized over two-thirds of France. The tricolour flag floated over Laon, Troyes, Rouen, Beauvais, Amiens, Châlons-sur-Marne, Besançon, Caen, Strasburg, Nancy, Lille, Verdun, Tours, La Rochelle, Nantes, Brest, and Cherbourg. Suchet, Mortier, and Jourdan had joined their former master. Augereau, who on April 16, 1814, had said of the white flag, "Let us hoist this colour, which is truly French," said again on March 22, 1815, "It is useless to look for any honourable memory in the white flag." Marshals Victor, Oudinot, and Gouvion Saint Cyr remained true to the Bourbons. Still the Duc de Bourbon remained a centre of civil war in La Vendée and the Duchesse d'Angoulême at Bordeaux; but on April 2 she was compelled to embark on an English ship. We need not follow the details of these civil disturbances.

Napoleon had no doubt that he would be able to put down any insurrection in France, but he dreaded a foreign war and the appearance of a seventh coalition. The moment he arrived at Paris he ordered the manufacture of 300,000 muskets, took measures for tripling his army, and

for arming and provisioning his fortresses. He ordered the formation of five armies of observation on the north-east frontier, of one on the Alps, one in the Pyrenees, the creation of a body of reserve; and at the same time he did everything he could to prevent the war, which, however, appeared almost inevitable.

With this object he had, before leaving Elba, ordered Murat to declare his pacific intentions at Vienna. On arriving at Lyons he had charged Joseph to announce to the ministers of Austria and Russia, who were accredited to Switzerland, that the Treaty of Paris would be respected. On March 21 he had informed the English government that he would be glad to receive from them any propositions which would secure a solid and durable peace. On March 29 he made more serious advances to England by abolishing the traffic in slaves, a step which produced considerable effect in our impressionable country. Knowing the affection felt by the Tsar of Russia for the two children of Josephine and for the Princess Stephanie of Baden, he asked Queen Hortense to write to the Tsar to state his wish to become the friend and ally of Russia. He further sent a circular letter to the sovereigns of Europe, to explain why he had returned to France. He said, "The dynasty which had been imposed by force on the French people was no longer suited to them. The Bourbons were not in sympathy either with their sentiments or their habits. It was necessary that they should part company. It will be my pleasure from this time forth to recognize no other rivalry than that of obtaining the advantages of peace. France delights to proclaim this noble end of all its aspirations. Jealous of her own independence, the unalterable principle of her policy will be the most absolute respect of the independence of other nations. Talleyrand, hearing this, said, "It is the old story of the wolf turned shepherd." Napoleon had previously addressed a private letter to the Emperor Alexander in

the following terms: "My efforts are solely directed to the consolidation of my throne, and to transmit it one day, established on firm foundations, to the child which your Majesty has treated with paternal goodness. The preservation of peace is necessary for the attainment of this sacred object. There is no purpose dearer to my heart than to maintain peace with all Powers, but especially with your Majesty. I am anxious that the Empress should join me by way of Strasburg. I am too well acquainted with the principles which actuate your Majesty not to feel the happy confidence that you will use your efforts, whatever may be in other respects your political objects, to assist in hastening the moment in which a wife will rejoin her husband and a son his father."

In the excitement of his return Napoleon had not forgotten his wife and son. He wrote to her from Grenoble on March 8, from Lyons on March 11. In this letter he sends copies of his proclamations, he enumerates the forces by which he is supported and the enthusiasm of the people; he asks Marie Louise to meet him with the King of Rome at Paris, where he will be on March 21. The Empress never received this letter, but it was seen and read by the allied sovereigns and all their ministers. From Paris he wrote on March 22, on March 26, and on March 28. In this last letter he says: "My good Louise, I am master of the whole of France; all the people and all the army are in the greatest enthusiasm. The so-called king has gone to England. I spend the whole of the day in reviewing bodies of 25,000 men. I expect you in the month of April. Be at Strasburg between April 15 and April 20." On April 4 he writes: "My good Louise, I have written to you again and again. I sent Flahaut to you three days ago. I have sent you a man to tell you that everything is going very well. I am adored, and master of everything. I only want you, my good Louise, and my son. Come, then, at once to join me at Strasburg. The

bearer of this will tell you what is the sentiment of France. Adieu, my loved one; for ever thine." There were probably many other letters, but no answer arrived. At last, on April 15, a message came from Meneval saying that the mind of the Empress had been so worked upon, that she looked upon a return to France with terror. For six months everything had been done to estrange her from the Emperor. On March 12 she was made to sign a letter saying that she had no knowledge of her husband's designs, which made it possible for Austria to sign the disgraceful manifesto of March 13, which placed Napoleon out of the pale of human society; and she received the duchy of Parma as a reward, with a large revenue, neither of which was to go on to her son. She told Meneval that she had formed the irrevocable resolution never to join the Emperor, and she refused to receive his letters.

Meneval himself returned to Paris on May 10. Napoleon was never tired of plying him with questions about the two beings who were dearest to his heart. The first day he sat with him from early morn to six in the evening, and the following days for several hours. Meneval did his best to excuse the Empress, and Napoleon, on his part, showed the utmost delicacy in sparing her. But he yearned after his son. She was at Baden when she heard of his final deportation to St. Helena, and she replied to one who told her of it, "Thank you; I had heard the news you tell me of. I wish to ride to Merkenstein. Do you think the weather is fine enough to risk it?" Let us hasten to the end. On April 15, 1821, when death was very near, Napoleon wrote: "I have always had reason to praise my very dear wife, the Empress Marie Louise, and I hold for her, up to the last moment, the most tender affection. I pray that she may watch over my son to guard him from the snares that beset his childhood." On April 8 he said to the doctor, Antommarchi, "Take my heart, place it in spirits of wine, and carry it to Parma to my

dear Marie Louise. Tell her that I loved her tenderly, and have never ceased to love her." When she heard of his death she wrote: "I confess that I have received a severe shock. Although I have never felt any great regard for him, I cannot forget that he is the father of my son, and that, so far from ill-treating me, as every one believes, he has always shown me every kindness—all that one can expect in a political marriage. I have therefore been much afflicted, and although one ought to be glad that he has finished his unfortunate life in a Christian manner, I could have wished him many years of happiness and life, provided that he was a long way off from me." To her Neipperg was a more romantic object than Napoleon.

The appeals of Napoleon fell upon deaf ears. The Powers clung to the declaration of March 13, which placed the Corsican adventurer under the ban of Europe, as a public enemy and a disturber of the world. As Napoleon's success appeared certain, the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Russia, England, Prussia, and France, held a conference to determine upon their course of action if he should succeed in establishing himself at Paris. They determined to act on the principles of the declaration of March 13, and to nominate a commission to study the means of execution. The commission, consisting of Schwarzenberg, Wellington, Wolkonsky, and Knesebeck, met on March 17, the Tsar being present in person. Alexander showed himself a bitter enemy of Napoleon. The conference laid down the principle that the Powers would never treat with Bonaparte, and determined to form three armies to take the first line, and two armies of reserve, and to employ prompt and immediate measures. They proposed also that the Treaty of Chaumont should be renewed. On March 25 the ministers of England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia signed a treaty of alliance. By this treaty the Powers agreed to keep constantly in the field 150,000 men, until Bonaparte was placed absolutely beyond the possi-

MARIE LOUISE

From an oil painting by an unknown artist

bility of exciting trouble, renewing attempts to gain possession of the supreme power in France, and threatening the security of Europe. It was determined as a preliminary measure that they must settle what subsidies were to be received from England, and by a convention of April 30 England contracted to divide amongst the northern Powers for the current year a sum of five millions. It had, indeed, been determined on March 30 that in case England could not provide 150,000 men she was to pay for the deficiency, £30 per year per man. In fact, she only provided 50,000 men. These arrangements were all completed before Napoleon's overtures arrived. It would have been better for Napoleon's interests if he had deferred his departure from Elba until the Congress of Vienna had broken up; but on the one hand he feared lest, before they separated, they would take measures for his deportation, and on the other he believed that the differences of opinion between them were greater than proved to be the case.

The arrival of Napoleon at the Tuileries was regarded by the other Powers as a declaration of war. All French troops found beyond the frontiers of their country were treated as prisoners. Joseph Bonaparte was arrested at Prangins, and Jerome at Trieste. Elisa was interned at Brunn, Queen Catherine at Göppingen, Pauline in Tuscany. The law of nations seemed to protect neither them nor others of their countrymen. In a fortnight fifty French vessels were captured in the North Sea and the Channel. The frigate Melpomene was taken and brought to Palermo. After March 30 no diplomatic correspondence from France was suffered to pass. The despatches of Caulaincourt, the Emperor's letter, his circular address to the sovereigns, were stopped at the various frontiers. Even private correspondence and the transport of newspapers was prohibited. France was placed under an interdict; it was put in quarantine as if stricken by the plague. Napoleon was obliged to have recourse to secret agents. The copy of

the circular of April 4 reached London, and Castlereagh replied to Caulaincourt, "The Prince Regent declined to receive the letter which was addressed to him." This letter bore the signature of Napoleon. Similar language was held to the secret emissaries who reached Vienna. Talleyrand said, "Read the declaration of March 13. It does not contain a word with which I do not agree." Metternich said, "We do not desire a Regency." Nesselrode said, "No peace with Bonaparte."

It will be remembered that on January 3 Castlereagh, Metternich, and Talleyrand had signed a secret treaty by which the plans of Prussia for the acquisition of Saxony and those of Russia for the annexation of Poland were traversed. This treaty had been found by Napoleon at Paris on his return, and was now communicated to Alexander. It made him very angry, but it did not alter his designs. Fouché had conceived the idea of kidnapping the King of Rome. To avoid this he was removed to the Imperial Palace, the Burg, his French governess, Madame de Montesquiou, was dismissed, although she had been with him since his birth, and the tears of the little prince at losing his dear "Quiou" were disregarded. Meneval, the emissary of Napoleon, had an interview with the young child in May, and on taking leave of him he asked if he had any message for his father. The child looked with distrust on the Austrians who surrounded him, and then withdrew to the recess of a window whither Meneval followed him. The little prince drew the Frenchman close to him, and said in a low voice, "Monsieur Meva, vous lui direz que je l'aime toujours bien."

If such were the sentiments of the sovereigns, what was the opinion of the people of Europe? In the barracks of Brussels the soldiers cried, "Vive l'Empereur!" At Ghent they ridiculed the emigrés. At Liége, Mainz, Aix-la-Chapelle, Trèves, Spires, Luxemburg, the people prepared tricolour cockades. In Piedmont the soldiers deserted in

order to enrol themselves in the French army; in Westphalia and Mecklenburg, where Napoleon had abolished serfdom, his name was a household word. At Dresden the escape from Elba was celebrated with an illumination. But the general voice of Germany called out for an invasion of France. From the Rhine to the Oder the press teemed with expressions like these: "The French imagine that they have not been conquered; we must convince them that they have been. This turbulent nation can only be prevented by force from disturbing their neighbours." "The French should be exterminated; yes, we must exterminate this nation of brigands, we must partition France." "We must obliterate the French people and change them into the inhabitants of Neustria, Burgundy and Aquitaine. No treaties with the French, we must exterminate them, kill them like mad dogs." In England the *Times* said, "If the misfortunes which belong to the usurpation of the sanguinary Corsican affected those only who have placed themselves under his yoke, we might be content to abandon these unhappy people to the calamities which they have so well deserved. But the objects for which the companions of his wickedness have summoned this brigand, this monster, laden with so many crimes and horrors, is the pillage of Europe." The *Morning Chronicle* held a different language. "Napoleon has reconquered in a fortnight the throne from which it needed the exertions of Europe for so many years to expel him. There is nothing like it in history. The attention of Parliament will certainly be drawn to the detestable policy which tends to renew the war. It is of no importance whether a Bonaparte or a Bourbon sits on the throne of France." The same paper suggested that Castlereagh should be asked, "Was the Treaty of Fontainebleau faithfully executed by the allies? Has any portion of the pension guaranteed to Napoleon and his family been paid? Was there not a plan for transporting him?"

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It will be interesting to Englishmen to see in what spirit the return of Napoleon was received by the English Parliament. On March 20, 1815, Mr. Whitbread moved an address to the Prince Regent, asking for information about the Congress of Vienna. In his speech he called attention to a manifesto of Napoleon complaining that the Treaty of Fontainebleau had been violated, that he had received no part of the promised pension, that the pension promised for his wife and son had not been paid, and that it was intended to remove him forcibly from Elba, and place him in some other quarter. He asked if these statements were true, and ended by expressing a hope that England might not be engaged in war. Lord Castlereagh, in a long and rambling speech in which he ranged over the whole field of foreign politics, evaded these questions. He said, however, that if Bonaparte succeeded in re-establishing his authority in France, peace must be despaired of, at least such a peace as we recently had the hope of enjoying. On April 3, Mr. Whitbread drew attention to the declaration signed at Vienna on March 13. He expressed a confident hope that it was an infamous forgery, inasmuch as it went to sanction the doctrine of assassination. He trusted that some of the names annexed to that paper were never authorized to sign any such document. It was impossible to suppose that Lords Wellington, Clancarty, Cathcart, and Stewart were authorized to put their names to such an infamous paper, or that they were invested with a power to declare war against any man. Vansittart, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, replied that the paper did not authorize this interpretation, and that the names annexed to the document, if it were authentic, afforded an ample pledge that nothing which was inconsistent with what was legal, honourable, and proper could have been intended by it. It was evident from this that the government were half inclined to be ashamed of what had been done. On the next and following days there was a discussion about the

escape of Napoleon from Elba, and Castlereagh admitted that there was an understanding with Campbell that Napoleon was to be imprisoned within certain tracts, and was not to be allowed to exeeed those limits. Also the Treaty of Fontainebleau was to be laid before the House.

On April 6, a message from the Regent relating to the events in France, was brought before both Houses of Parliament. Lord Stanhope took occasion to say that the Declaration of March 13 was an attack upon the liberties and constitution of the people of the country, and that he would rather die in the most horrid tortures than agree to a declaration of war upon these principles. The message asked for an augmentation of the land and sea forces. It was discussed on the following day. Lord Castlereagh explained the circumstances under which the Treaty of Fontainebleau was signed. When he heard of it he strongly disapproved of it, but eventually consented to accede to it conditionally. He assented to that part which gave the sovereignty of Elba to Napoleon, and the duchies of Parma and Placentia to Marie Louise, but not to that part which acknowledged the title of Emperor, or promised the pension. He admitted that Napoleon was not to be considered in any way as a prisoner in Elba; the sovereignty of the island had been conferred upon him, and to look upon him in any other light would be a contravention of the treaty. He denied that the Treaty of Fontainebleau had been violated, because the pension, being an annual one, did not become due till the year had expired. He argued in favour of the European concert. He would not avow publicly his own private sentiment, but there was no disposition on the part of the government to drive the allies into a more extensive war policy than might be consistent with their own sentiments and feelings. Lord Grenville, who followed, argued in favour of a close interest and cordial connection between this country and the allied

Powers of the Continent. Lord Wellesley objected to the argument that the pension promised at Fontainebleau should not have been paid because it had not become due, also, nothing had been done with regard to the Duchies of Parma and Placentia. He ardently hoped that the aggravated calamities of a new war would be averted. Lord Grey denounced the low and pitiful expedient of arguing that the Treaty of Fontainebleau had not been violated because the money stipulated did not become due till the end of the year. He considered a state of tranquillity so important to England and to Europe that to the last he should fondly cherish a hope that peace might be maintained.

The declaration of March 13 and the Treaty of Fontainebleau were presented to Parliament on April 7, and at the same time papers which showed that on April 13, 1814, Castlereagh had objected to the treaty, that he would only accede to the territorial arrangements contained in it, that he was opposed to Elba being assigned as a residence for Napoleon, and that he was not disposed to the alternative, which Bonaparte had repeatedly mentioned, of an asylum in England. The address on the Prince Regent's message was discussed on the same day. Lord Castlereagh opened the debate. He said that the return of Napoleon to his throne was not a revolution growing out of the sentiments of the French people. It was a revolution effected by the army, effected by artifice, and by that sort of overweening influence "that a person, being at the head of a military system, and addressing himself to great military bodies, may be supposed to have preserved and exerted." He violently abused Napoleon, as having shown himself "no longer to be controlled by treaties, in the pursuit of his views bounded only by his inability to proceed, as having set at naught every ordinary tie, and by a series of conduct which does not present one particle of morality, having deliberately placed himself on the pedestal

of power, and boldly avowed his acts. He calls himself Emperor of France, impiously 'by the grace of God.' The allies had made the Treaty of Fontainebleau because they could not help it. When Elba was given him it was never intended that he should be a prisoner there, or that he should be deprived of his excursions in the vicinity of the island for the purposes of recreation. The allied Powers never intended to exercise a police or any system of espionage either within or without Elba. It is a mistake to suppose that the allies were too generous in making the treaty or too remiss in carrying it out, they are not responsible for any mischief that may grow out of the fortuitous event which has so unfortunately taken place. He had urged upon Louis XVIII the desirability of giving the pension, but had been met by the argument that some explanation of his conduct, which lay open to suspicion, must first be exacted. Who would venture to say that the return of Bonaparte was the will of the French nation? Who would hesitate to allow that the late revolution was purely the act of the military?" On the general question his opinion was, that we should watch the temper and the spirit of the continental nations, that we should not be precipitated by their ardour into any war which was not just or necessary; as we had clearly saved the world, in concurrence with the allied Powers, it was in concurrence with them that we must preserve it from future danger, but we must not goad the Powers of the Continent into a war which they were not convinced was necessary for their interests. This is a fair representation of the Tory policy.

In answer to this, Sir Francis Burdett made a very remarkable speech. Unfortunately his position as a radical deprived his arguments of that weight which they intrinsically deserved. He said that if it was intended to plunge the country again into a war, with the object of replacing the Bourbons on the throne of France, he must

raise his voice against ever entering upon such an unjustifiable and ruinous enterprise. The government would be blamable if they attempted to impose a governor on an independent nation against its will. Was it not plain that Bonaparte was the ruler of the French people's choice? The step he had taken had very absurdly been called the invasion of France. But whoever heard of a single man invading a nation of thirty millions of inhabitants, and gaining the sovereignty of that nation against its will? The fact was that the nation wished for him, and had in a great degree wished for him from their dislike of the government which he superseded. There apparently existed a strong desire in the British government, if the elements of war could be found in Europe, to recur to that detestable principle, the re-establishment of what were called legitimate sovereigns, as if nations belonged irrevocably to certain families. This country had done enough for the Bourbons; they had cost the country eight hundred millions of money and oceans of blood. It was impossible to doubt that Napoleon Bonaparte was Emperor of France by the wish of the French people. It was said that Bonaparte was only supported by the military; but what was the ground of thinking so? Could it be believed that a single man, landing in a nation containing thirty millions of inhabitants, with a government in active organization, and armed with a great civil and military power against him, could proceed for five hundred miles to the capital of the country, and assume the government against the consent of the people? In all that length of way there was not a single individual to lift his hand against him. How could the approbation of the people be more unequivocally shown? It was a most abnormal and detestable principle to interfere in the internal concerns of another country. Let the French settle their own affairs. Mr. Ponsonby, although he supported the address, admitted that he had no right to consider whether it was

wise or unwise of France to prefer her present to her late sovereign. It was for France herself to determine that point, and he would never vote in that House on the principle of imposing a specific government on any nation. Mr. Whitbread complained of the flimsy veil with which ministers attempted to cover their real object, of the trap into which they were anxious to betray the country. The restoration of Bonaparte to the throne of France was much more miraculous than his original elevation to it. He landed without a man to defend him; in his progress from the south to the north of France he was exposed daily and nightly, and every hour of the day and night, to the attacks of those who were inimical to his cause, if such existed, and not a single hand of all that population, which Castlereagh stated he had good reason to know were favourable to the Bourbons, was raised against him as the invader of France, or as the destroyer of its lawful sovereign. A war of aggression against France ought to be resisted by this country. The witty Sheridan had said that one half of our national debt had been contracted in endeavouring to suppress the power of the Bourbons, and the other half in endeavouring to restore them to power. He denounced the Manifesto of March 13. He concluded by moving an amendment in favour of peace. Lord Althorpe said that the main question was whether, if war was to take place, it was to be a war of defence or of aggression. In 1793 the experiment of forcing a government on France had been tried, and had failed. He supported the amendment. Tierney also supported the amendment. He deprecated a vote which would almost amount to a direct declaration in favour of a renewal of war. He had heard that treaties of subsidy had already been negotiated. If it was thought that peace could not be attained but by dethroning Bonaparte, the prospect now before the country appalled him to the heart. Notwithstanding the powerful arguments alleged in its favour,

the amendment only received thirty-seven votes, and the address was carried by a majority of one hundred and seventy-three.

The treaty signed at Vienna on March 25 was not communicated to Parliament. Mr. Whitbread drew attention to this fact in the Commons, but the speech of Lord Wellesley on the same subject in the Lords on April 27 was more weighty. With justifiable vehemence he denounced the bad faith of the government. "What other feeling," he said, "can we entertain, when we understand that two days prior to the vote of April 7 ministers were in possession of the Treaty of Vienna, and had actually resolved on a war, the arrangements of which were even completed?" To this Lord Liverpool made a very lame answer. He, however, made a positive declaration with regard to the policy of England. He said, "First, we consider the present government of France as an evil that must be got rid of; secondly, we consider it highly desirable to restore the legitimate monarchy of France, and will contribute our efforts to that restoration; thirdly, we do not consider that restoration as a *sine quâ non*, and disclaim any intention of imposing a government on the French people. If therefore we go into France, we go to destroy the pernicious government that exists, but by no means to impose any government in its stead." Lord Darnley declared that he should not have voted for the address of April 7 had he been aware of the existence of a treaty which pledged this country and our allies to an offensive war against France.

A similar question was raised by Mr. Whitbread in the House of Commons on April 28. He complained that the treaty signed at Vienna on March 25 had been received by the government on April 5, the day before the royal message had been brought down to the House. They had not altered a single word of the message, had not mentioned the treaty in the debate of April 7, but had

treated the matter as if peace and war were still an open question, and had returned the treaty ratified on April 8. He therefore proposed an address asking the Regent to pause before he involved his people in war. The address was seconded by Sir W. M. Ridley, who thought it was not the part of this country to inquire into the particular government of France, nor into her power to settle who should be at her head. Castlereagh in his answer declared that Bonaparte was entirely unworthy of confidence, and cited a despatch signed by Maret, ordering Caulaincourt at the Congress of Châtillon to accede to the terms proposed by the allies, but to keep certain points suspended to prevent the fulfilment of the treaty, if circumstances demanded it. "Could any confidence be reposed in the faith of such a man, or could the peace of the world be secure while power remained in the hands of a man so thoroughly indifferent to every consideration of moral principle or political rectitude?" Recent historical research has shown that this despatch was a forgery. The debate was a long one. In the course of it Wilberforce announced that he had a bad opinion of Bonaparte. He placed no confidence in predictions of his improvement, for though there had been a large expenditure of bad passions in him, yet there still remained a fount of evil which was inexhaustible he feared." The motion received considerable support, 72 voting in favour of it, but it was lost by a majority of 201. There can be no doubt, however, that the Liverpool Ministry, in conjunction with the Duke of Wellington, were the main cause of the war of 1815; that they need not have engaged in it unless they had wished; that they might have prevented it if they had chosen; and that every Power in Europe was subsidized by English gold.

The effect of these debates was that Lord Castlereagh was compelled to declare himself thus on April 25: "The undersigned, in exchanging the ratifications of the treaty of March 25, is ordered to declare that Article VIII must

be understood as obliging the contracting parties to make common efforts against the power of Napoleon Bonaparte, but that it must not be understood as obliging his Britannic Majesty to pursue the war with the object of imposing upon France any particular government. However great may be the desire of the Prince Regent to see his most Christian Majesty re-established on the throne, and whatever may be his desire to contribute in concert with his allies to so happy an event, he feels himself, notwithstanding, obliged to make this declaration as much in the interests of his most Christian Majesty in France as in order to conform to the principles by which the British government has invariably regulated its conduct."

All the states of Europe, even Switzerland and Spain, took part in this last coalition. Napoleon had but one ally, the unfortunate Murat. The imagination of this weak schemer was fired by the success of his brother-in-law, and he imagined that he could make himself King of Italy with the same ease that Napoleon had made himself Emperor of France. He left Naples on March 17, and reached Ancona two days later, and Rimini on March 30, marching on Bologna, which he entered on April 2, the Austrian garrison of 9000 men having evacuated it the day before. On April 4 he forced the passage of the Panaro and slept at Modena. In the meantime the Austrians were concentrating behind the Po. They resisted his efforts to cross that river at Occhiobello. Then, passing to the offensive, the Austrians drove the King back to Bologna, Rimini, and Ancona. Neipperg followed Murat along the coast with 16,000 men. Bianchi, crossing with 12,000 by Tuscany and the States of the Church, manœuvred to cut off his retreat at Tolentino. The battle, which lasted two days, May 2 and 3, ended in the defeat of the Neapolitans. Murat conducted himself with great bravery, but could not find the death he sought. On May 11 Murat rallied behind the Volturno some 10,000 men, all that remained

of the 40,000 with which he opened the campaign. On May 19 he left Naples disguised as a sailor, reached Cannes in a Danish vessel, and hired a house in the neighbourhood of Toulon. The Austrians entered Naples on May 23, and 90,000 Austrians concentrated in Italy became available for operations in the French Alps. Napoleon was very angry at Murat's conduct. He sent an emissary to tell him to remain in Provence, and to say that he could not employ him. "The Emperor cannot employ a man who a year ago fought against Frenchmen. He blames you for having undertaken your last campaign against his will. A year ago you destroyed France by paralysing the 60,000 soldiers of Prince Eugène, and this year you have compromized him by attacking the Austrians prematurely." The consequence was that Murat was not present at the Battle of Waterloo, where he might have rendered great service.

Meanwhile Louis XVIII, having failed to realize his desire to cross over to England, had established himself in Ghent, where the Prince of Orange had offered him hospitality. Here he held a kind of court, and corresponded with foreign governments. He certainly maintained his dignity, even if the sublime bordered occasionally on the ridiculous. He kept up the etiquette of the Tuileries. Every morning he gave audience to one or other of his ministers. Every afternoon he took his drive in a carriage drawn by six horses, at full gallop, with an escort of bodyguards. Twice or thrice a week there was a dinner and a reception at Court. On Sunday he attended the church of Saint Bavon in a uniform with golden epaulettes, the Order of the Saint Esprit, and red velvet gaiters. He seemed as if he were not in exile, but in country retirement. He received ambassadors with haughty affability, and if he met the Duke of Wellington on the Brussels road, or in the deserted streets of Ghent, he returned his salute by a slight movement of the head.

He had the same faith in his rights and in his future that he had shown at Verona, at Mittau, and at Hartwell. He remembered that in the eyes of Europe he was still the most Christian King, that he had ambassadors in every European capital, that in his interests a million soldiers were marching towards the frontiers of France.

Authorities.—Masson's *Marie Louise* has been again followed, and the records of debates in the English Parliament have been taken from the Parliamentary History.

CHAPTER XV

THE HUNDRED DAYS

THERE was indeed some reason for conservative Europe to be afraid of the return of Napoleon, besides the dread of his power, because he seemed to personify the Revolution of 1789. From the moment of his leaving Elba he proclaimed himself the enemy of privilege, and thundered against the nobles and the priests. He said as early as March 20, to Molé, "I find the hatred of the priests and the nobility as universal and as evident as at the beginning of the Revolution." But Napoleon was too much a lover of order and of good government to foster or to flatter these sentiments. He said to Benjamin Constant, "They look upon me as their puppet and their salvation against the nobles. I have only to make a sign, or even to avert my eyes, and the nobles will be massacred in all the provinces. But I will not be sovereign of a Jacquerie." General Hugo, the father of Victor Hugo, said, "The wooden horse of '92 is not burnt; we shall know how to discover it again for the service of the Emperor." But it was just this wooden horse of anarchy which Napoleon disdained to use. He recoiled before the revolutionary measures by which he might have effected his object. For this conduct he expressed at St. Helena sometimes regret, but never remorse. His conversations there, as reported by Las Cases and Montholon, show, that the establishment of a "terror" in 1815 might have been his

salvation, but he would not consent to be responsible for such a step. He said, "The empire had become legitimate. A regularly established government cannot charge itself either with the same excitement or expose itself to the same odium as the multitude. I would not be a 'king of the Jacquerie.' A revolution is the greatest of disasters; all the advantages which it brings cannot compensate for the distress with which it fills the life of those who are its authors."

Those also by whom Napoleon was at this time surrounded were not of a democratic frame of mind. Molé, Hauterive and Chauvelin refused to sign the declaration of March 26, because it contained the words "Sovereignty resides in the people, it is the only legitimate source of power." If Napoleon had wished to found a Jacobin dictatorship, such as Danton might have approved of, he would not have been followed either by Maret, Caulaincourt, Mollien or Daru, and it is doubtful whether even Carnot or Fouché would have supported him. Indeed he surrounded himself even with Imperial pomp. A solemn mass was held every Sunday at the Tuileries, and three times a week there were theatrical representations at the Palace. He again summoned his family round the throne. Joseph lived at the Elysée, and Lucien at the Palais Royal, each of them keeping a stable of forty horses. Still he could not return to the absolutism of his former reign. Not being able to be Emperor as in 1812, nor a popular dictator, he was forced to play the part of constitutional monarch, and in the beginning of April he set himself to the task of giving the country liberal institutions. The chief difficulty in concluding a durable settlement lay in the war which was threatening to overwhelm the new government.

The phrase "L'Empire c'est la paix," which was so often in the mouth of Napoleon III, was first used by Napoleon I. In order to secure this result he did his best

to conceal the hostile designs of the Powers. The official journal declared there was no danger of war. The articles of the *Morning Chronicle* were translated and circulated. At the same time the recall of all soldiers on leave on March 28, and the mobilization of the National Guards, drove the funds down to the figures of 58f. 50c., and the national feeling of confidence was discouraged. This produced a reaction of opinion in the north, west, and south. The tricolour flags were thrown down, and the Imperial ensigns torn away. Paris, however, remained comparatively calm. The theatres were empty, and commerce was sluggish. Still the manifestations of imperial spirit were evident. The bust of Napoleon, covered with violets, was frequently carried round the Tuileries and the Palais Royal. On April 2, the Imperial Guard gave a monster banquet to the garrisons of Grenoble and Lyons, and to the National Guard. The Marseillaise and the hymn "Veillons au salut de l'Empire!" were sung every evening at the theatre. Crowds came together and shouted "Vive l'Empereur!" under the windows of the Tuileries. Napoleon was obliged to show himself, and he became so wearied with this perpetual demonstration that he removed from the Tuileries to the Elysée where there was a peaceful garden.

At the same time he reviewed, almost every day, either in the Caroussel or the Champs Elysée, the soldiers who were leaving for the frontier. He showed himself constantly to the people. He rode about the streets almost alone, and sometimes in the lowest quarters mingled with the crowd, and conversed with the workmen or with women. We get an interesting account of Napoleon at Paris at this time from the letters of John Cam Hobhouse, addressed to Lord Byron. Writing on April 24, he says: "I have seen him twice: the first time on Sunday the 16th, at the review of the National Guards; the second time at the Français on the following Friday, April 21, at his first visit to the theatre since his return." Hobhouse was in the Tuileries

in the apartments of Queen Hortense. He afterwards descended into the court of the Caroussel and stood within ten paces of the Emperor. Napoleon fixed his eyes and filled his imagination. Nowithstanding the motley crowd he saw nothing but Napoleon, the single individual, to destroy whom the earth was rising in arms from the Tanais to the Thames. He says he never saw any man exactly like him; "his face was a deadly pale, his jaws overhung, but not so much as I had heard, his lips thin, but partially curled, so as to give to his mouth an inexpressible sweetness. He had the habit of retracting the lips, and apparently chewing, in the manner observed and objected to in our great actor, Mr. Kean. His hair was of a dark dusky brown, scattered thinly over his temples; the crown of his head was bald—one of the names of affection given him of late by his soldiers is 'notre petit tondu!' He was not fat in the upper part of the body, but projected considerably in the abdomen, so much so that his linen appeared beneath his waistcoat. He generally stood with his hands knit behind or folded before him, but sometimes unfolded them, played with his vest, took snuff three or four times, and looked at his watch. He seemed to have a labouring in his chest, sighing or swallowing his spittle. He very seldom spoke, but when he did, smiled, in some sort agreeably. He looked about him, not knitting but joining his eyebrows as if to see more minutely, and went through the whole tedious ceremony with an air of sedate impatience." Hobhouse goes on to relate an incident of the review. An ill-looking fellow, in a half suit of regimentals, with a sword at his side, ran out from the crowd towards the Emperor. He was seized by the collar and thrust back. Napoleon did not move a muscle of his body; not a line, not a shade of his face shifted for an instant. Perfectly unstartled, he beckoned to the soldiers to let loose their prisoner, who, coming so close as almost to touch him, talked to him for some time. The Emperor sent him away

satisfied. "I see Napoleon at this moment. The unruffled calmness of his countenance at the first movement of the soldier relaxing softly into a look of attention and of kindness, will never be erased from my memory. We are not stocks nor stones nor Tories. I am not ashamed to say that on recovery from my first surprise I found my eyes somewhat moistened."

At the reception at the Français it is impossible to give any idea of the joy with which he was hailed. The house was choked with spectators, who crowded into the orchestra. The play was *Hector*, more exactly *La Mort d'Hector*, by Louis de Lancival. "Napoleon entered at the third scene. The whole mass rose with a shout which still thunders in my ears. The cries continued till the Emperor, after turning to the right and left hand, seated himself, and the play was recommenced. The audience received every speech which had the least reference to their returned hero—with unnumbered plaudits. The words 'enfin il reparait' and 'c'était lui-Achille' raised the whole parterre and interrupted the actor for some moments. Napoleon was very attentive: whilst I saw him, he spoke to some of those who stood behind him, and returned the compliments of the audience. He withdrew suddenly, at the end of the play, without any notice or obeisance, so that the multitude had hardly time to salute him with a short shout. As I mentioned before, I saw the Bourbon princes received, for the first time, in the same place last year. Their greeting will bear no comparison with that of Napoleon, nor with any of those accorded to the heroes of the very many ceremonies I have witnessed in the course of my life." Hobhouse concludes by this important remark, which later historians have proved to be absolutely true. "The royal vice of ingratitude finds no place in the bosom of an usurper; this baseness belongs to such as are born kings. There is something magical in that power of personal attachment which is proved by a thousand notorious facts

to belong to this extraordinary man; and never had anyone, who wore a crown, so many friends, or retained them so long."

Napoleon had issued from Lyons a decree to the effect that the Electoral Colleges of the Departments of the Empire would meet in an extraordinary assembly in the Champ de Mai in order to modify the constitution according to the interests and the wish of the nation. But it was found impossible to collect 26,000 citizens in the Champ de Mai to discuss and to veto laws. The method of writing statements of grievances adopted before the assembly of the States General in 1789, would have taken too long, Napoleon therefore determined to entrust the decision of the constitution to a commission. Some were in favour of a constitution of the English type. Carnot objected to this, on the ground that the English constitution presupposed the existence of a powerful aristocracy: in France there was no aristocracy. He proposed a constitution combining a Chamber of deputies, a senate nominated for life, and a tribunate composed of five commissioners from the Chamber, five from the Senate, five from the Conseil d'Etat, and five from the judges. The Emperor favoured this plan, but it was condemned by the other members of the Commission. A new factor now appeared upon the scene in the person of Benjamin Constant. On March 19, Constant had issued a paper in which he compared Napoleon to Nero. Fearing vengeance, he hid himself in La Vendée for a few days, and then returned to Paris. He had an interview with Joseph, who reassured him, and shortly afterwards received an invitation to go to the Tuileries. Constant had during the restoration been the oracle of the Liberals. He was much impressed with his interview with the Emperor, whom he found, not indeed converted to Liberal principles, but determined to submit to them by necessity. Napoleon ended by asking him to draw up a scheme of a Constitution. The interviews

between the sovereign and the philosopher were continued day by day, and finally Constant presented him with a complete outline of a Constitution drawn up article by article.

It was a new edition of the Charte. All Frenchmen were declared eligible to the Chambers, and the franchise was given to 100,000 instead of 15,000 citizens. The censorship of the press was abolished, martial laws were confined to military offences, and liberty of worship allowed without a State religion; the power of interpretation of laws was taken away from the ministers, the debates of the upper Chamber were made public, the right of amendment was given to both Chambers, while each Chamber was allowed to request the government to initiate a new law. Ministerial responsibility was increased, and the executive placed under the control of the legislative. In the original draft no mention was made of the Empire, but to this Napoleon objected. He said: "You deprive me of my past: I wish to preserve it. What do you do with my eleven years of reign? I suppose that I have some rights. The new Constitution must hang on to the old. It will have the sanction of glory." Constant replied that the Emperor had now more need of popularity than of glory; but he yielded on this point, and the new Constitution bore the name of "Additional Act to the Constitutions of the Empire." Napoleon also objected to the mention of an hereditary peerage. He said: "Where can I find the elements of an aristocracy which is required for a peerage? The possessors of old fortunes are my enemies; those of new fortunes are ashamed of themselves. Five or six illustrious names are not enough. Without traditions and large properties, on what will my power be founded? In thirty years my peers will be either soldiers or chamberlains." But seduced by the example of England, he preferred an hereditary to an elective senate.

On the evening of April 24 the "Acte additionel" was

read to the ministers and the members of the Conseil d'Etat. When they criticized it, he said with passion: "I am being driven in a course which is not my own. I am weakened and placed in chains. France looks for me, and finds me no more. Public opinion, which was excellent, is now execrable. France asks itself, What is become of the 'old arm' of the Emperor, the arm which it needs for the subjugation of Europe? What is the use of talking to me of goodness, of abstract justice, of natural law? The first law is necessity; the first justice is the public welfare. You wish that men whom I have loaded with benefits should use them to conspire against me abroad. That must not be, and shall not be. When peace is made, we shall see. To every day its burden, to every circumstance its law, to every one his own nature. It is not my nature to be an angel. Gentlemen, I regret that we must find again, and that every one must see again the old arm of the Emperor." While he spoke he rose to his feet, and his eyes shone with fire. Constant tells us that this is the only occasion when he showed signs of open revolt to the constitutional yoke. The commissioners held their tongues, fearing that if they pressed him further he would tear the constitution to pieces with the old arm which he evoked.

Fouché, Caulaincourt, and Decrès desired that the Acte additionel should be discussed article by article by the representatives chosen by the electoral colleges and not submitted to a plebiscite. But Napoleon did not approve of such a course. He published the document in the *Moniteur*, and by a decree called on all communes to give their votes openly, the votes to be counted in the assembly of the Champ de Mai summoned to meet at Paris on May 26. The Acte additionel contented no one. The Napoleonists deplored the concessions to Liberalism, and regarded their Emperor as lost. The Jacobins were disappointed to find in it no trace of their revolutionary ideas. The hereditary

peerage was an outrage upon legality. The Liberals treated it with disdain. Many thought that they had been deceived, that the concessions made were only apparent, and would be recalled at the earliest opportunity. The nomination of peers and judges, the right of prorogation and dissolution, the initiation of laws, were all given to the Emperor. He had changed nothing. He was still the man of Brumaire, the autocrat of 1811. The new constitution, "La Benjamine" as it was called, was still more distasteful to the Royalists. They were especially angry with Article 67, which expressly forbade that any member of the Bourbon family should ever be called to the throne, even if the Imperial dynasty became extinct, and also prohibited the return to feudal rights, to tithes, to a privileged religion, to the revision of the sale of national property. They complained that this method of binding the future attacked the rights of the people. The people, so far as they thought about the matter, were of opinion that the new Constitution did not fulfil the Emperor's promises, but there was but little excitement; seven-tenths of the population were indifferent. Napoleon himself said to Constant on April 25, at the Elysée, "Well, the Constitution is not a success."

On May 1, a decree was published in the *Moniteur* invoking the Electoral College to choose deputies for the Chamber of Representatives, which was to meet after the proclamation of the acceptance of the Additional Act. The Constitution itself was finally confirmed by 1,532,527 votes against 4802, showing a large number of abstentions. The elections to the Chamber were not favourable to Napoleon. In a Chamber of 629 there were only 80 determined Bonapartists, 30 or 40 Jacobins, and 500 Liberals of different complexions. The assembly was hostile to the Bourbons in consequence of their retrograde ideas and of their appeal to foreign assistance. It recognized Napoleon as the head of the National Government of France, but it feared his despotism. It would have pre-

ferred a constitutional kingdom under the Duc d'Orléans, but it accepted the Empire, provided that the Emperor was deprived of all power. It was not a promising instrument with which to fight a life-and-death struggle against a European coalition.

On June 1, 1815, took place the famous assembly of the Champ de Mai. We may avail ourselves largely of the picturesque description of Mr. Hobhouse. In the southern portion of the Champ de Mars, the architect Fontaine had erected a vast pentagonal hemicycle, open at the base. In the opening was a structure covered with a canopy, containing an altar and seats for priests, musicians, and other performers of the mass. There were nominal divisions made by the wooden pillars of the building, surmounted by large wooden eagles, under which were written the names of the departments, which showed the extent and power of the Empire. Opposite to this was another edifice, with its back to the École Militaire, with a great canopy in the middle, and oblong wings on each side. Under the canopy a flight of carpeted stages descended from the principal windows of the first story of the military school, and about half-way between the windows and the ground was a platform for the throne. This structure formed as it were the chord of which the hemicycle was the arc. Besides this, there was a bare pyramidal platform, with steps on each side fifteen feet high, at the back of the hemicycle, on which was placed a plain arm-chair, open and uncovered. Hobhouse considered these erections rather tawdry than otherwise. The day was hot and radiant with sunshine. From early in the morning the hemicycle was filled with the electors, the representatives, chosen but not constituted, and a number of invited persons. On each side of the altar were the representatives of all the regiments of France. Hobhouse says that the scene, as a whole, was indescribably magnificent. The windows and the roof of the military school

were filled with ladies, and there were innumerable standard-bearers, whose glittering eagles and tricoloured banners made a dazzling show. The throne was a gilt purple-coloured arm-chair, with a purple cushion on the ground before it. On the right of it were two common chairs, on the left a single chair. The first to appear were the children of the Reine Hortense, including Louis, afterwards Napoleon III. Then came the Court of Cassation, the Court of Accounts, the Council of the University, the Imperial Court, and the Magistracy of Paris, in robes, some of which appeared fantastic. The candles were lighted at the altar, and at midday the cannon announced the departure of the Emperor from the Tuileries. The sight in the Champ de Mars was superb. The troops were drawn up on each side down the whole length of the plain, the whole of the National Guard, the Imperial Guard, and the troops of the line, as well as the gendarmerie. The red lancers were seen filing over the bridge of Jena, and the long train of the cavalry of the guard, and the suite of carriages. There were fourteen state carriages, each drawn by six bay horses. The last but one contained Cambacérès, arch-chancellor of the Emperor, and the last the three Imperial Princes, Joseph, Lucien, and Jerome. The Imperial carriage was a large gilt coach with glass panels, surmounted by an immense gilt crown. Four footmen, or pages, were crowded before, and six behind. Two marshals of the Empire rode on each side of the carriage, Soult, Ney, Jourdan, and Grouchy, which was drawn by eight milk-white horses, dressed in lofty plumes of white, each led by a groom who could hold him securely down. Napoleon was distinctly seen through the glass panels in his plumed hat and deep orange mantle. It would have been better if he had been in military uniform. A body of pages in green and gold liveries ran down the stairs from the window and ranged themselves on each side of the steps from the platform of the throne to the ground. A grenadier of the

guard was posted at the foot of the steps to the left and to the right. The tribunes under the canopy were filled by marshals and counsellors of state.

Caulaincourt and Ségur placed themselves on the highest step to the right of the throne. Cambacérès tottered down to the platform in a blue mantle spotted with gold bees. The Archbishop of Tours and Cardinal Cambacérès went to the altar. At one o'clock Napoleon marched from the window down the steps to the platform, and the assembly rose with a shout. He advanced hastily in front, bowed or rather nodded two or three times, plumped himself down into his throne, and rolled his mantle round him. Hobhouse says that he looked very ungainly and squat. The princes did not look much better. Mass was performed, during which Napoleon was less occupied by his prayers than with his opera-glass. The mass over, the deputies presented an energetic address. "If we are only allowed a choice between the throne and war, the whole of France will rise for war; we will draw ourselves round the throne, on which sits the head and father of the people and the army. Every Frenchman is a soldier; victory will follow your eagles." The Constitution was then presented to the Emperor, and he signed it. He then made a speech, which began, "Emperor, Consul, soldier, I hold everything from the people." He was applauded with cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" "Vive Marie Louise!" He then took the oath to the Constitution, and the Te Deum was sung. After this three eagles were solemnly presented to the Emperor as typical of the rest—the eagle of the national guard of the department of the Seine by Carnot, that of the first regiment of the line by Davout, and that of the first marine corps by Decrès. Napoleon threw off his mantle, leaped from the throne, and advanced to meet the eagles. He made a short speech, with great animation of manner and in a loud voice. "Soldiers of the national guard of the empire, soldiers of the troops of land and

sea, I entrust to you the imperial eagle with the national colour. You swear to defend it at the price of your blood against the enemies of your country and of this throne. You swear that it shall always be your rallying sign. You swear it." The concluding words pierced the whole assembly, and were answered by the shout, "We swear."

The Emperor then went to his chair behind the hemicycle and presented the eagles to the rest of the army. The whole army of 50,000 men filed before their sovereign with their eagles in admirable order, the Imperial guard marching from right to left, the others from left to right. Hobhouse says that this scene was more magnificent than any pen can describe. At half-past three the Emperor returned to his throne, bowed several times to the assembly, very graciously and apparently much pleased, mounted the stage, and disappeared in the window of the military school. Before three weeks were over Napoleon was a defeated fugitive, and thousands of these enthusiastic soldiers were stretched lifeless upon the plain of Waterloo.

The Chamber of Deputies met on June 3. They elected as President, Lanjuinais, a man with a splendid record, but likely to be particularly distasteful to Napoleon because he had always been in opposition under the Empire. Napoleon thought for a moment of refusing to ratify the election, but he was dissuaded from taking this step. He summoned Lanjuinais to the Tuileries on the evening of June 4, and said to him, "Do you belong to me?" "Sire, I have never belonged to any one." "But will you serve me?" "Sire, in the sphere of duty, for you have the visibility." "Some say you are a Bourbonist, others that you are my personal enemy, and others that you sincerely love your country. You will judge which of these I believe when I congratulate both you and the Chamber on the choice which has made you its president." The list of peers had been settled on the evening of June 2.

It contained a hundred and seventeen names. The Emperor's brothers, Joseph, Louis, Lucien, and Jerome, Cardinal Fesch, Prince Eugène, Cambacérès and Lebrun, Marshals Brune, Davout, Grouchy, Jourdan, Lefebvre, Marsin, Ney, Moncey, Mortier, five admirals, thirty-eight generals, all the ministers, four prelates, a dozen Counseillers d'Etat, about thirty distinguished personages, such as Chaptal, Lacépède, Gassendi, Lavalette, Montalivet, Molé, Allonge, Ségur, Roederer, Lameth, Siéyès, and about fifteen representatives of the ancienne noblesse who consented to be nominated. Augereau, Oudinot, Gouvion Saint Cyr, Kellermann, and Grégoire were purposely omitted. The Imperial sitting of the two Chambers took place on June 7, and an interesting account of it is given by Hobhouse.

He went to the palace of the legislative body at two in the afternoon, and found a place in one of the galleries. The Counsellors of State took their seats, and shortly afterwards Napoleon's mother, whom he describes as a very handsome, regular-featured, princely personage, young of her age, entered the gallery with the Queen Hortense and the beautiful Duchesses of Bassano, Rovigo, and Piacenza. At four the cannon of the Tuileries were heard, and twenty minutes later the doors of the theatre opposite the throne were thrown open. The president, with a deputation of members, ministers of State, marshals, chamberlains, and pages appeared, and at last the shout of "l'Empereur!" announced the arrival of Napoleon. He wore his velvet cap and Imperial mantle; was attended by his brother, the great officers of the Court, and Cambacérès in his robes of bees. The whole assembly arose. Napoleon ascended to the throne amidst continual acclamations. He turned round, bowed, and sat down. Joseph sat on his right, Louis on his left. Jerome was absent. Ségur gave the Emperor's command that all should be seated. Then the members of the two houses

took the oath of obedience to the Constitution and of fidelity to the Emperor. This lasted a long time. Napoleon continually took lozenges from a small bag in his hand, and appeared to labour considerably in his chest. He was evidently unwell, probably suffering from a cold; except speaking twice to Joseph, he said not a word to any one near him. When the oaths were finished he pulled off his cap, and began his speech. His voice was distinct and clear, but became rather feeble towards the end. He concluded thus: "It is possible that the first duty of a sovereign summons me, at no short interval, to the head of the children of the nation, to fight for our country. The army and myself will do our duty. You, peers and representatives, give to the nation the example of confidence, of energy, and of patriotism; and, like the senators of the great people of antiquity, be determined to die rather than to survive the dishonour and degradation of France. The holy cause of our fatherland will be triumphant." These last words were pronounced in a lowered voice, and with a gesture of his right hand. He bowed to the assembly, and retired amidst the thunder of acclamations, at which he appeared highly delighted. Nothing could exceed the enthusiasm, which seemed the more spontaneous as the cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" were not more frequent than those of "Vive la Nation!" and "Vive la France!" Hobhouse confesses to a presentiment that he had seen this extraordinary man for the last time.

Indeed, everything had changed with him. When he entered the Tuileries on March 20 he was excited by his triumph and was inspired by energy, resolution, and hope. For three weeks everything gave way like magic before him; after that everything was leagued against him. The Powers placed him under the ban of Europe and armed a million of soldiers to exterminate him. The South rose in insurrection, the West in rebellion, the North in conspiracy, and the whole of France was divided in opinion. The

army was in want of men, the arsenals of supplies, the Treasury of money. Each day, after working fifteen hours to reorganize the army, the finances, and the administration, he had to discuss Constitutional questions with Benjamin Constant, with the members of the Committee of the Constitution, and always yield to their arguments. He abdicated the dictatorship, gave representative government, the liberty of the press, the liberty of the tribune, the liberty of the elections. Still they refused to believe in his honesty of purpose. He was threatened abroad, abused by the press at home, he found laziness in the administration, treason in the police, distrust in the Chambers, demoralization at the Tuileries, and everywhere hostility, suspicion, and discouragement.

Even Napoleon could not undergo this torture for three months without being weakened by it morally and physically. At the end of May he was not the same man that he was on March 20. He had preserved unimpaired the master qualities of his great genius, but the subordinate qualities, will, decision, confidence, had declined in him. He became subject to bodily ailments of a very painful nature. He was sometimes sunk in profound depression. He lost all hope and all energy. It is said that in his hours of anguish he was tormented by visions of France, conquered and dismembered. He sought by day the sleep which he could not obtain at night. When he was alone he burst into tears. Carnot once surprised him in this condition before a portrait of his son. He had lost the idea of success, and no longer believed in his star. He said to Mollien, "Destiny has changed towards me; I have lost in her an auxiliary which I cannot replace." "Time," he said also, "will show whether France will take more pains to keep me than it did to keep the Bourbons."

Napoleon had determined to leave Paris for the front on June 12. The troops had begun their march, and the Imperial Guard, the military chest, and the Household

troops were between Compiègne, Soissons, and Laon. Profiting by the experience of 1814 he determined not to leave a regency behind him, but to keep the threads of administration in his own hands. Joseph was to preside at the Council of Ministers, and all matters were to be referred personally to the Emperor. On the evening of June 11 he dined with his mother, his brothers and the princesses. The children of Joseph and the two sons of Hortense—one of them afterwards Napoleon III—came to dessert. He then received the president of the Chambers, the ministers and a few faithful friends. Lavalette stayed with him till midnight and left him in a gay humour. But he had on that day passed through the wearisome ordeal of receiving the address of two Chambers, and he had in his reply given them a useful lesson. "Help me to save our country. The crisis in which we are engaged is dangerous. Do not let us imitate the example of the Lower Roman Empire, which, pressed on all sides by the Barbarians, made itself the laughing-stock of posterity by engaging in subtle discussions at the moment when the battering-ram was breaking down the gates of the capital."

In order to restore confidence in the new Empire it was necessary that Napoleon should gain a victory. The West was in arms, civil war distracted the South, there was discontent at Paris, at Lille, at Rouen and at Bordeaux. The approach of the war stopped all business, paralysed commerce, made the funds sink to 54 francs. But there existed undoubtedly a great movement of patriotism. France rose quivering with indignation and anger against the humiliating ultimatum of Europe and its unjust oppression. The hatred of the foreigner was intense, and confidence in the new government would be restored as soon as the foreigner met with a well-merited defeat. To secure that victory Napoleon left Paris on June 12. Before we enter on the consideration of his last campaign let us

consider the condition of the forces with which he hoped to secure the victory.

On his return from Elba the Emperor found not more than 200,000 men under arms. If he had followed the precedent of his earlier days he would have had recourse to an extra levy on the classes from 1806 to 1814, to the class of 1815 and to the anticipation of the class of 1816. But he hesitated to re-establish the conscription which had been abolished by Louis XVIII. The only possible expedient was to recall to the army the soldiers on leave, and those who were absent without permission. Of the first category there were 32,800, of the second 85,000; but Davout reckoned that the number to be obtained in this way would not altogether be more than 59,000. The decree which gave this order was not issued till April 9, the Emperor having hoped that he might possibly be able to avoid war altogether, and the idea of a renewal of war was very repugnant to public opinion. As a matter of fact, the estimate given by Davout was exceeded by 25,000 men, which was creditable to the patriotism of the country. One of Napoleon's first cares had been to reorganize the National Guard, but the result did not answer his expectations. Out of the number of 234,720 summoned by various decrees issued between April 10 and May 15, about 150,000 were got together by June 15. As a final resource the Emperor was obliged to renew the conscription. This would give 150,000 men, of whom 20,000 had fought in the last campaign, but by June 11, less than 50,000 had presented themselves.

As for munitions of war, provisions, horses, uniforms, and shoes were almost entirely wanting. There were 13,947 cannon, but horses, harness, and 600,000 rounds of ammunition had to be supplied. The arsenals contained only 195,000 muskets, of which 74,000 needed repair. Muskets were bought in England, Belgium, and the Rhine provinces, and every nerve was strained to provide them in

France. The Emperor wrote to Davout on March 23: "The safety of the country depends on the number of muskets which we can provide." After all, about half the mobilized National Guard were without muskets. There were also no cuirasses, but Napoleon wrote to Davout: "Never mind; set the soldiers under arms; cuirasses are not indispensable to make war with." It was hoped that each soldier would have 100 rounds of ammunition, 50 in their belts, and 50 in reserve, but only the first 50 were provided on June 1. The uniforms were in rags, the soldiers were in need of both shoes and shirts; when these deficiencies were supplied there was not sufficient blue cloth to provide uniforms. Horses were very deficient, but at the opening of the campaign the cavalry had 40,000, and the artillery 16,500. Great pains were taken to put the fortresses in a condition of defence, and to provision them.

For all these needs money was urgently required, and Napoleon was one of the greatest of financiers. He did not believe in loans; because, as he said, he had no desire to live upon the future. Also he not only refrained from imposing new taxes, but abolished some duties of excise which had been created by Louis XVIII. He found an unexpected sum of 50,000,000 in the treasury, which had not been carried off to Ghent. By a number of expedients, which would be difficult to explain without unravelling the intricacies of French finance, he managed to find money for his immediate needs. But there were great deficiencies. At the opening of the campaign about 5,000,000 a month was required for the pay of the soldiers, and the military chest only contained about 670,000 francs.

Let us now see of how many men his army was composed. The army of the north contained 124,139 men, and was commanded by the Emperor in person; the army of the Rhine 23,097 men, under Rapp; the army of the Alps, 23,617 men, under Suchet; the army of the Pyrenees, about 15,000 men, under Clausel and Decaen.

There were also three Corps d'Armée, and four divisions of National Guards. Altogether the active army consisted of 284,000 men, and the reserve of 222,000. All this had been created in three months. If the war had continued these bodies would have been largely increased, and Napoleon was not far wrong when he boasted that by October 1 he would have been at the head of an army of 800,000 men, including regulars and National Guards.

Of the marshals, three, Berthier, Victor, and Marmont, had joined Louis XVIII in Belgium. Augereau was struck from the list for his conduct at Lyons in 1814. Napoleon did not employ Gouvion de Saint Cyr or Oudinot. Macdonald refused to serve under him. Moncey and Lefebvre were left in the cold. Masséna remained at Paris. Mortier, Suchet, and Jourdan were employed. Brune was sent to Marseilles. Ney had offended Napoleon too deeply, first by forcing him to abdicate, and then by saying that he would bring him back to Paris in an iron cage, to be entirely forgiven. On April 15 he had the audacity to tell Napoleon that he had made use of the expression in order to conceal his real projects. Napoleon said nothing, but his eyes glowed with unusual fire. Ney at first retired to his country seat, and then returned to Paris for the Champ de Mai. When he went to the Tuileries on June 6 his master said to him, "Here you are. I thought you had emigrated." "I ought to have done so earlier," he replied. On June 11, just before leaving Paris, Napoleon wrote to the Minister of War: "Summon Marshal Ney, tell him that if he wishes to be present at the first battle he must join me at Avesnes on June 14." He arrived at Avesnes on June 13, where he dined with the Emperor; but we shall see he only received his command of the first and second Corps d'Armée on the afternoon of June 15. It would perhaps have been better if Napoleon had let him alone. Murat offered to shed for Napoleon his last drop of blood, but Napoleon refused;

for this he expressed his regret at St. Helena. "At Waterloo Murat might have gained us the victory. What was wanted? To break three or four English squares. Murat was precisely the man for that." Grouchy had a great reputation as a cavalry officer, and Napoleon could not know how fatal his services were to prove.

Who was to be chief of the staff? Berthier, Prince of Wagram, was an ideal man for this position, and Napoleon would have received him gladly. He said to Rapp, "That blockhead Berthier, he will come back. I pardon him everything, but on condition that he appears before me in his bodyguard uniform." He indeed desired to return to France, where he had left his wife and his two daughters. After staying a short time with Louis XVIII at Ghent, he went to Bamberg, in the territories of the King of Bavaria, his uncle by marriage. At the beginning of May he endeavoured to reach the French frontier by Basel, but was stopped at Stockach by the Prince of Hohenzollern. On the afternoon of June 1, when a regiment of Russian troops was entering the town, he was watching them from a window in the third story of the palace at Bamberg, when he fell out and was taken up with a broken skull. He was said to have committed suicide, but it was very probably an accident. In default of Berthier, Napoleon was obliged to make use of Soult. Soult had great qualities, but not those of a chief of the staff. Others would have done better, but Napoleon wished to have a marshal in this position, and Soult was alone available. He was obliged to leave Davout behind at Paris, because he could entrust the care of the capital to no one else. It is remarkable that all the principal marshals and generals of Napoleon were, like himself, under fifty years of age, Napoleon was 46, Davout 45, Soult and Ney 46, Grouchy and Drouet d'Erlon 49, Vandamme 44, Rapp, Clausel, Pajol, 43. La Bédoyère, the youngest of the generals of brigade, was only 29.

Unfortunately the spirit of the army left much to be desired. Many of the officers believed that Napoleon was lost, and that his defeat was inevitable. The soldiers were full of enthusiasm, but discipline was relaxed. The soldiers clamoured to be reviewed by the Emperor. They received their new eagles with enthusiastic exclamations and threatening oaths. They placed little tricolour flags in the barrels of their muskets. They swore, crossing their sabres over flaming punch, to conquer or die. They said, as they pointed to the bust of the Emperor, "He will be with us." They gave up their pay to meet the expenses of the war. They left their garrisons to wander through the villages crying "Vive l'Empereur!" They tore up the white flags when they found them. They were eager to double their march in order to be present at the first battle. They said that they had no need of cartridges, because they could attack the enemy with the bayonet, that their shoes might go to the devil so long as the Emperor beat the allies. The army was warlike in tone, fevered with desire of vengeance, capable of heroic efforts, but impressionable, given to discussion without discipline, suspicious of its leaders, troubled by the fear of treason, and therefore accessible to panic. Never had Napoleon held in his hands an instrument so terrible and so weak.

To turn to the allies. On March 25, when they formed the seventh coalition, they had only 80,000 men to resist an attack on Belgium. This force consisted of 30,000 Prussians, 14,000 Saxons, 23,000 Anglo-Hanoverians, and 10,000 Dutch-Belgians. On April 1 Napoleon could have crossed the frontier with 50,000 men and entered Brussels without striking a blow. Wellington was at Vienna, and Blücher at Berlin. The Prussian generals, the Prince of Orange, and Wellington himself, were afraid of this step Napoleon thought of it, but immediately rejected it. He knew that it would be a flash in the pan. He could not at the same time conquer Belgium and reorganize the army

He also hoped that peace might yet be possible. He did not seriously begin to consider his plan of campaign until the middle of May, when he had lost all hope of avoiding war. Various plans were proposed for the conquest of France. Gneisenau was in favour of invading France with four great armies, of which the fourth, the Russian, was to form the reserve. They were to march solidly on to Paris, without taking account of individual deserters. The opinion of Wellington was that hostilities should be commenced on May 1 without waiting for the Russians, or even for the concentration of the other three armies. He advised the collection between the Sambre and the Meuse of 60,000 allied Hanoverian and British troops, 60,000 Prussians, and 140,000 allied Austrian, Bavarian, Würtemberg, and Baden troops, in order to enter France with superior forces, and to manœuvre in the direction of Paris. He knew that Napoleon's strength would be increased by every day of truce. At Vienna it was determined not to commence hostilities till June 1. Wellington and Blücher regarded this as a month lost, Knesebeck and Schwarzenberg as a month gained. Indeed, on June 10 Schwarzenberg persuaded the sovereigns to adopt a plan, the execution of which was not to begin till June 27 or July 1. Blücher was furious, because he said that he was longing to recover his pipe, which he had left behind at Paris. According to this plan, six armies were simultaneously to invade France. (1) The army of the Low Countries, consisting of 93,000 English, Hanoverians, Brunswickers, Dutch, and Belgians, under Wellington between Maubeuge and Beaumont. (2) The Prussian army, 117,000 strong, under Blücher between Philippeville and Givet. (3) The Russian army, 150,000, under Barclay de Tolly, by Saint Louis and Saarbrück. (4) The army of the Upper Rhine, consisting of 210,000 Austrians, Bavarians, Würtembergers, and Hessians, under Schwarzenberg, chiefly by Basel. These four armies were to march on Paris, the English by

Peronne, the Prussians by Laon, the Russians by Nancy, the Austrians by Langres. On the extreme left the army of North Italy, consisting of 38,000 Austrians and 12,000 Piedmontese, under Frimont, and the Austrian army of Naples, consisting of 35,000 men, under Bianchi, were to cross the Alps, and march, one on Lyons, and the other on Provence, where the English squadron was to second their operations.

Napoleon had a general knowledge of the plan of the allies, and two plans of campaign presented themselves to his mind. The first was to mass the bulk of his army round Paris, to concentrate the army of the Alps and the Jura at Lyons, to allow the allies to entangle themselves with the fortresses, which were not badly garrisoned. If the allies crossed the frontier on July 1, they would reach Lyons about July 18, and Paris about July 25, by which date preparations would be complete, the garrison consisting of about 80,000 men. Napoleon would have 200,000 soldiers round Paris, and there would remain 80,000 in the depots, and 158,000 in process of recruitment. Of the 645,000 allies who invaded France, 75,000 would be occupied in the Lyons district and in Provence, while 150,000 would be required to secure their communications. This would leave 420,000 men opposed to the 200,000 of Napoleon. He would begin a campaign like that of 1814, with 200,000 men instead of 90,000, and with Paris fortified and defended by 80,000 under Davout. The second plan, which was much more hazardous, but more in accordance with the best principles of war, was to attack the enemy before their forces were concentrated. By June 15, the Emperor could collect on the northern frontier an army of 223,000 men. He would march into Belgium, defeat the English and Prussians separately, and then, after having received new reinforcements from the depots, he would join the 23,000 men under Rapp, and march against the Austrians and

Russians. The first of these plans would have been the wisest, but the second was preferred for political reasons. A victory was necessary, to determine the waverers. Besides, he thought that if he gained the victory the Belgians would rally round him, and if he were beaten he could still fall back on the measures of defence.

Napoleon hesitated long between these two plans, and having determined to take the offensive he was some days making up his mind where he should strike the first blow. He wished to attack the English and Prussian armies separately, and if possible to prevent their junction. If he attacked the right wing of Wellington by Lille or Condé he would throw the English army into the arms of the Prussians. If he attacked the left wing of Blücher by Givet and the valley of the Meuse he would throw the Prussians into the arms of the English. He therefore determined to attack the point of the junction of the two armies, which was the road from Charleroi to Brussels, and on this road he threw himself, by way of Beaumont and Philippeville, with the rapidity of lightning. Hobhouse, visiting an aide-de-camp of the Emperor, found him employed mapping in detail the country on the Belgian frontier. "Would not," he said, "a separation of the Prussian and English armies, and a rapid march upon Brussels, surprise your politicians in England: we can beat Blücher first and then we shall try your Wellington. No one doubts the undaunted bravery of English soldiers, but the loss of 20,000 men would make the people of London look a little pale. You are rather sparing of your own blood, though I cannot say that you care about that of your friends."

Authorities.—Besides those before mentioned, use has been made of Wellington's despatches. The letters written from Paris by Hobhouse during the hundred days have been of great value.

CHAPTER XVI

LIGNY AND QUATRE BRAS

NAPOLEON, leaving Paris on the night of June 11, reached Laon at midday on June 12, and came to sleep at Avesnes on June 13. On the evening of June 14 he established his head-quarters at Beaumont, in the centre of his army, close to the Belgian frontier. At the reveillé the Emperor's order of the day, dated Avesnes, June 14, was read to them. "Soldiers, it is to-day the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, battles which decided on two occasions the destiny of Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz and after Wagram, we were too generous. To-day, however, in coalition against us, the princes whom we left on the throne are attacking the independence and most sacred rights of France. They have begun the most unjust of aggressions. Let us march to meet them; they as ourselves, are we not still the same men?"

At daybreak on June 15 the positions of the French army were as follows:—The first corps of 20,731 men, under Drouet d'Erlon, formed the extreme left, and were posted between the road which leads from Avesnes to Maubeuge and Solre-sur-Sambre; the second corps, 25,179 men, under Reille, was between Solre-sur-Sambre and Liers; the third corps, 18,105 men, under Vandamme, and the sixth corps, 10,821, under Lobau, was between Beaumont and the frontier. The fourth corps, 15,404 men, under Gerard, was between Philippeville and Florence;

and the reserve of cavalry, 13,144 men, under Grouchy, was at Valcourt and Bossus. The Imperial Guard, 20,755 men, was posted around Beaumont. This army was provided with 370 cannon, and bivouacked on a space not exceeding five miles by seven. Thus in two days 124,000 men had been brought to the frontier from long distances close to the enemies' outposts, without the allies having taken any defensive measures. Never had a march of concentration been better conceived or more skilfully carried out.

On the other hand, the Anglo-Prussian troops were scattered over a front more than a hundred miles long, and about thirty or forty broad. On June 14 the head-quarters of Blücher were at Namur. The first corps, 30,800 men, under Ziethen, forming the right of the Prussian army, occupied Thuin, Marchiennes, Charleroi, Fleurus, Sombreffe, and Gembloux. The second corps, under Pirch I, Namur, and Hèron and Hannut. The third corps, 23,700, under Thielmann, occupied Dinant and Huy. The fourth corps, 30,300, under Bülow, Liége and Tongres. The head-quarters of Wellington were at Brussels, and his army was posted from the Lys and the Scheldt to the Haine. The second corps, 27,321, under Lord Hill, occupied Ath, Oudenarde, Ghent, and Alost. The first corps, 30,246, under the Prince of Orange, Mons, Seneffe, Nivelles, Genappe, Soignies, Braine le Comte, and Enghien. The cavalry, 9913, under Lord Uxbridge, was posted along the Dender, between Ninove, and Ath; and the reserve, 25,597 men, was under the immediate command of Wellington, in the environs of Brussels. From these positions it would have taken each of these armies three days to have concentrated in the line of contact, and double the time to concentrate on the English right and the Prussian left. There can be little doubt that neither Wellington nor Blücher expected an attack. On June 13, when Napoleon was posting from Laon to Avesnes,

Wellington was writing to Lord Lyndoch about Napoleon: "I judge from his speech to the legislature that his departure is not likely to be immediate"; and on June 3 Blücher had written to his wife from Namur: "We shall soon enter France; we may easily remain here a year, for Bonaparte will not attack us."

The advanced guard of the French army crossed the frontier at 3.30 a.m. on June 15. The main army advanced upon Charleroi in three divisions. The arrangements were made with the greatest skill. The whole army was to pass the Sambre before midday. Military authorities are agreed that the dispositions made for the advance of the army were a model, and that the genius of Napoleon for organization had never been more conspicuous than in the orders he gave. Unfortunately these orders were not punctually executed. Drouet d'Erlon started at 4.30 a.m. instead of 3 a.m. Vandamme, who should have started at 3 a.m., did not receive his orders till 5 a.m., the orderly having fallen from his horse and broken his leg; Gérard was also four hours late. Unfortunately also General de Bourmont, who commanded the leading division of the fourth corps, passed over to the enemy. He left a letter for Gérard in the following terms: "I do not wish to help to establish in France a bloody despotism which will destroy my country. I would have resigned and gone home if it had been possible. I shall not be seen in the ranks of the enemy, and I shall give them no information." He, however, did inform the Prussians that the French would attack Charleroi in the afternoon, and he told Ziethen that the French army was 120,000 strong. When he met Blücher at 3 p.m. he would doubtless have given him any information he desired, but Blücher would scarcely speak to him, and when his attention was called to the white cockade he wore, cried out, "Einerlei was das Volk fur ein Zeichen ansteckt, Hundsfott bleibt Hunds-

fott." ("It does not matter what sort of a cockade a man wears, a rascal is always a rascal.")

The enemy was not in need of the information which Bourmont had given them. As early as June 9 Ziethen had been informed of the movement of troops towards the frontier. On June 12 Wellington was told that 100,000 French were concentrating between Avesnes and Philippeville. On June 13 Dornberg, the commander of the light cavalry, wrote to Blücher that an attack appeared to him imminent, and on June 14 Pirch II announced from Marchiennes that the French would attack on the following day. Although Wellington and Blücher did not personally believe in the advance of Napoleon, they had met at Tirlemont on May 3, with a view to concerting operations. It is not known precisely what was arranged at this interview, but they probably agreed on some scheme of concentration before Brussels. This is shown by the general movement towards the right which was undertaken by the Prussian army on the following day. Ziethen was ordered to keep in touch with the army of Wellington, and in case of attack to await the movement of the enemy at Fleurus, and to send the earliest news of any danger to the two commanders-in-chief. Before midday on June 14 Blücher began to concentrate his army at Fleurus. Indeed, the advanced posts of Ziethen's army under Pirch II expected to be attacked at daybreak on June 15, and between the frontier and the Sambre they lost 500 men.

The Sambre was crossed by two bridges at this point, that of Charleroi and that of Marchienne. The bridge of Marchienne was taken by a bayonet charge after two hours' conflict about midday, but the passage of the river did not begin till 4.30 p.m. In attacking the bridge at Charleroi Pajol had to await for Vandamme, but owing to Vandamme's delay the Emperor arrived first, and by his energetic presence the bridge was crossed about midday.

Napoleon passed through the town amid the cheers of the population. He stopped his horse at a little inn called La Belle Vue, just in front of the point where the two roads branch off to Brussels and Fleurus, a point which gave a view of the whole valley of the Sambre. He sat down on a chair by the side of the road and watched the passage of the troops. He was saluted by drums and trumpets, and the cheers of the soldiers. It is said that he fell asleep, which on a hot day is not incredible, after six or seven hours on horseback. At about 2 p.m. Gourgaud came up with the news that the Prussians were in force at Gosselies, on the Brussels road. Napoleon sent immediately to Marshal Reille at Marchienne, ordering him to march on Gosselies. He also placed on the Brussels road a regiment of the Young Guard and a battery of horse artillery. He also ordered Lefebvre Desnoettes to support the first hussars with the light cavalry of the Guard, and dictated to Soult a letter for d'Erlon, telling him to march on Gosselies to help Reille. This letter had no sooner been sent at about 3.15 p.m. when Ney arrived on the scene. The Emperor said to him, "Good morning, Ney! You are going to take command of the first and second corps d'armée. I give you the light cavalry of my Guard, but do not make use of it. To-morrow you will be joined by Kellermann's cuirassiers. Go! Drive the enemy along the Brussels road, and take position at Quatre Bras." At this moment the English were advancing from Brussels and the Prussians from Namur; they could only unite by the high road from Namur to Nivelles, which passed by Sombreffe, and crossed the road from Charleroi to Brussels at Quatre Bras. The Emperor wished to establish his left wing at Quatre Bras, and his right wing at Sombreffe, while he took position himself at Fleurus, at the apex of the triangle, at the base of which were two armies ready to attack whichever enemy first made his appearance. If both

of them retired, he would enter Brussels without firing a shot.

Ney left at once, and just then Grouchy came up, and received command of the right wing. He was ordered to attack the enemy in flank, to pursue them to Sombreffe, and take position there. These orders given, the Emperor returned to Charleroi. But he had better have remained at Gilly, because the attack was delayed by his absence, and Grouchy, ill supported by Vandamme, did not even succeed in occupying Fleurus. Ney succeeded in capturing Gosselies, but he neglected the order of his master to push on farther, and only sent the lancers and the chasseurs of the guard to Quatre Bras. This body arrived at Frasnes at 5.30 p.m., a village about 2½ miles from Quatre Bras. It was defended by a Dutch battalion and a battery of horse artillery. Some Polish lancers pushed on as far as Quatre Bras, which was unoccupied, but, fearing to be left unsupported, Ney returned to Frasnes. Just at this moment Prince Bernard of Saxe Weimar took possession of Quatre Bras with four Dutch battalions. Ney then came up and saw that Quatre Bras was defended by four thousand men and six guns, so after posting his light cavalry at Frasnes he returned to Gosselies for the night. Ney was quite right in determining at 7 p.m. that it would be unwise to attack Quatre Bras; but if he had marched on at 5 p.m., with even a part of his troops, he could have defeated the Dutch. Excuse is made for him that he was afraid of having to meet the whole army of Wellington, but for the first time in his life he acted with caution, and that caution was fatal to his master. But although Napoleon had failed to gain possession of the important strategic positions of Quatre Bras and Sombreffe, he had nevertheless established his army of 124,000 men in a triangle, the sides of which were nine miles long, in the very centre of the allies. To all appearance the allies were surprised. Not a single English uniform had been seen, nor had the

Prussians appeared in force. Indeed, Napoleon was of opinion that evening that he had broken the concert of the allies, and that they had retired, the Prussians towards Liége and Maestricht, and the English towards Ostend and Antwerp. He felt certain of victory.

The plan he formed for June 16 was to attack the Prussians with Grouchy and occupy Sombreffe and Gembloux, then to join Ney with the reserve and occupy Quatre Bras, from which he could make a night march to Brussels, reaching it at 7 a.m. on June 17. He sent out orders to this effect between 7 a.m. and 8 a.m. Just at this time news arrived from Grouchy that strong Prussian forces were advancing from the Namur road upon Brye and St. Amand, in the direction of Fleurus. This entirely upset Napoleon's plans. He recognized that he would have to engage the whole Prussian army on his right, and possibly the whole English army on his left. But he was loath to believe that he had been mistaken, and he repeated the orders previously given to Ney and Grouchy, sending them, for sake of security, by Flahaut and La Bédoyère. Just as the Emperor was leaving Charleroi for Fleurus, between 9 a.m. and 10 a.m., news arrived that strong forces of the enemy were massed in the direction of Quatre Bras. He therefore reiterated his order to Ney in the following terms: "Blücher was yesterday at Namur; it is not likely that he has marched to Quatre Bras; you can only have before you troops coming from Brussels. Collect the divisions of Reille and d'Erlon and of Kellermann; with these forces you will be able to beat and destroy all the enemy's forces which may present themselves." Lobau was to remain at Charleroi to help Ney if necessary. Napoleon then left and reached Fleurus just before 11 a.m. He found Grouchy there to his surprise, for he supposed that he was at Sombreffe. The Emperor rode along the line and established himself in a windmill built of brick, which dominated the plain.

Blücher had reached Sombreffe from Namur at 4 p.m. on June 15. He determined to fight the next day behind the brook of the Ligne, a position which he had previously reconnoitred for the purpose. He was full of spirit, and thought himself invincible. He wrote to his wife, "With my 120,000 Prussians I would undertake to conquer Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, if I had not got to cross the sea." But at 11 a.m. he had only in line Ziethen's corps, now reduced to 28,000 men. The corps of Pirch I (21,000) only arrived at Sombreffe at midday, followed by Thielmann's corps, 24,000. Bülow's, with 30,000, was far behind. Nevertheless, he determined to fight, in the hope, it is said, that the English would assist him. The Germans say that Wellington had given a formal promise to do so, but that is not borne out by the evidence. He had said to Colonel Pfüel, sent by Blücher on the evening of June 13, "My army will be concentrated at Nivelles or at Quatre Bras, according to circumstances, 22 hours after the first cannon is fired." Wellington believed that the main attack of Napoleon would be by way of Mons, and he thought that the march on Charleroi might be only a feint, In the afternoon of June 15, he said to Müffling, "If everything is as Ziethen believes, I will concentrate on my left wing, so as to act in concert with the Prussian army; but if a part of the enemy's forces marches on Mons, I shall be obliged to concentrate on my centre. I must therefore wait for news from my outposts at Mons before deciding. However, since the departure of my troops is certain, although their destination is uncertain, I will give orders for them to hold themselves in readiness to march." These orders were sent out between 6 p.m. and 7. p.m. June 15. It was on that evening that took place the famous ball of the Duchess of Richmond. About 200 guests were invited, including the Prince of Orange, Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, the Prince of Nassau, Wellington of course, Pozzo di Borgo, Müffling, Clinton, Ponsonby, Picton, Vivian, Byng, Pack, Kempt,

Maitland, and many others whose names have become household words. Lord Uxbridge rode over from Ninove, twenty miles from Brussels, and consulted with Wellington at the ball. Wellington arrived at midnight. He told Brunswick that Napoleon had invaded Belgium, and that there would be a battle on that day. The duke grew pale, and shuddered, with a presentiment of death. Wellington repeated to the generals verbally the orders which he had already given in writing, and the officers left one by one. The ball continued till the morning. Wellington left at 3 a.m. The Duchess, it is said, wakened up her youngest daughter, afterwards Lady de Ros, to buckle on his sword.

Wellington, leaving Brussels at 6 a.m., reached Quatre Bras at 10 a.m. He found there the division of Perponcher. He then advanced men enough to Frasnes to observe the French outposts. He then ordered Picton's division and Brunswick's corps, who had halted at Waterloo, to continue their march, and he wrote to Blücher that Quatre Bras was occupied by a division of the Prince of Orange, and that the English army was marching on that point. The letter ended thus: "I do not observe many of the enemy in front of us, and I am waiting for news of your excellency to decide these operations." He then determined to have an interview with Blücher. They met on the heights of Brye, and ascended the windmill of Bussy, destroyed in 1895, which gave a better view than the mill of Fleurus. They saw the French columns advance, and recognized the Emperor in the midst of his staff. They became aware that they had to engage the whole of the French army. Wellington said to Blücher in French, "Que voulez-vous que je fasse?" After some conversation he added, "C'est ça, je culbuterai ce que j'ai devant moi à Frasnes et je marcherai à Gosselies." Gneisenau, who wished the English troops to act as a reserve to the Prussians, objected to this, and Wellington said finally, "Eh bien! je viendrai si je ne suis pas attaqué moi-même."

Blücher now made preparations for battle. The Prussian position was marked by the three villages of Brye, Sombreffe and Tongrinne, with the brook of the Ligne, about 12 feet broad, easily to be jumped, running beneath them. On this stream was the village of Ligny, with two large farms, a church with a walled churchyard, and an old castle of the Counts of Looz. Several other villages or hamlets in front, such as La Haye, Petit St. Amand, Grand St. Amand, Tongrinelle, Balâtre, constituted posts of defence. From the mill of Fleurus the position appeared weaker than it really was, because the ravines were concealed. Napoleon would have liked to attack at once, but he had to wait for the corps of Gérard, which did not arrive till 1 p.m. Gérard told the Emperor of Bourmont's treason, and his only remark was, "I told you, Gérard, that what is blue is always blue, and what is white is always white." Napoleon now thought of surrounding Blücher, and therefore wrote to Ney at 2 p.m. by Soult: "The Emperor charges me to tell you that the enemy has concentrated a body of troops between Sombreffe and Brye, and that Marshal Grouchy will attack with the third and fourth corps at 2.30 p.m. The intention of his Majesty also is that you should attack what is before you, and that after having vigorously pressed the enemy you should retreat upon us in order to help in surrounding the body of which I speak."

Blücher saw the French movements from the mill of Bussy, and hastened to complete his order of battle by occupying the village of Ligny. He did not destroy any of the bridges across the Ligne, in order that he might be able to cross them if he desired to take the offensive. Napoleon now saw that the whole of the Prussian army was before him. He said to Gérard, "Perhaps in three hours the fate of the war will be decided. If Ney executes his orders well, not a single gun of this army will escape me." At 3.15 Soult sent another despatch to Ney: "I

wrote to you at 1 p.m. that the Emperor is attacking the enemy in the position which they have taken between the villages of St. Amand and Brye. At this very moment the fight is proceeding vigorously. His Majesty charges me to tell you that you must manœuvre immediately so as to envelop the right of the enemy, and to fall upon his rear. This army is lost if you act vigorously. The fate of France is in your hands, so do not hesitate to make the movement which the Emperor orders, and march on the heights of St. Amand and Brye." Just at this moment Napoleon was informed that Ney had 20,000 of the enemy before him. He knew then that he could not do what he wished, but he hoped that he could keep the English in check with Reille's corps, and send d'Erlon's to help himself. So he sent a direct order to d'Erlon to march behind the Prussian right, and said that this order was to be communicated to Ney. At the same time he ordered Lobau, who was at Charleroi, to march on Fleurus.

The battle began at 3 p.m. The battlefield was covered with ripe corn, three or four feet high, which hindered the march of the columns. A vigorous attack was made on Ligny, but it failed. The artillery then opened fire, and at the fourth assault the French became masters of the upper villages. A terrible conflict took place in the little square. The soldiers fought as if animated by personal hatred; no one thought of asking or giving quarter. At length the Prussians gave way, and the church and the churchyard were occupied by the French. The Prussians, however, defended themselves on the other side of the Ligne, which was hotly contested along its whole length. Gérard scattered the Prussian right, but was mortally wounded in the action. Blücher himself came down from the windmill and drove the French back. At last, at 5.50 p.m., Napoleon prepared to give the coup de grâce with his reserves, hoping for the co-operation of Ney. Just at this moment a body of 20,000 men was seen in the direction of

Fleurus. Was it the English, or was it d'Erlon, or perhaps a Prussian corps d'armée? The Emperor wished to see, and suspended his attack. Blücher now thought he was certain of victory, and, although 73 years of age, led his troops against St. Amand. He found that all the ammunition had been used, even that which remained in the pouches of the dead. He cried, "With the bayonet!" and, riding his magnificent white horse, the gift of the Prince Regent, carried with him his soldiers, who were electrified by his enthusiasm. He took Petit St. Amand, and thought the battle over. But it was only 7.30 p.m., and the darkness which he believed to be night was a violent storm.

By this time Napoleon had discovered that the troops which had been seen were the corps of d'Erlon, which had been already recalled by Ney, just as they were coming into action. He now gave orders for the final assault, which was directed on Ligny. He led the assault himself, and the Emperor was irresistible. Blücher, on galloping back from La Haye, found his troops in full retreat, and the bearskins of the Guard mounting the slope. He did his best to stop the confusion, but in vain. His horse was shot under him, and he was carried off the field by a faithful aide-de-camp. It is said that 8000 Prussian deserters were stopped on the following day between Liége and Aix-la-Chapelle. The Emperor returned to Fleurus at 11 p.m., and nearly the whole of the French army bivouacked on the left bank. During the night it was found that 20,000 Prussians and 11,000 French lay dead or wounded on the field.

There can be little doubt that Ney might have occupied Quatre Bras on the evening of June 15. But having failed to do this, he should have concentrated his forces so that at 9 a.m. he might have had before the position sufficient troops to take it. He evidently showed want of energy and an excess of caution, but he prevented Wellington from assisting Blücher. When Flahaut brought him Napoleon's letter, sent off at 8.30 a.m., at about 11 a.m.,

he confined himself to ordering a forward march. Napoleon thought that Ney might occupy Quatre Bras without difficulty, under the idea that the Brussels road was open; but there is no reason why Ney should have fallen into the same error. Reille also delayed so long that his forces could not be employed till the afternoon. It is true that even at this time the Prince of Orange was only holding Quatre Bras with 7800 bayonets and fourteen cannon, but he was determined to maintain it at all hazards till the arrival of the English. The hamlet of Quatre Bras was not difficult to defend. It consisted of three large farms and two houses, situated at the junction of the Charleroi, Brussels, Namur, and Nivelles roads. The causeway leading to Namur formed a natural entrenchment, and was protected by the advanced farm of Piermont on one side of the Charleroi road, and by the wood of Bossu on the other, while on the Charleroi road itself, about a mile and a half distant, was the large farm of Gemioncourt. Although 8000 troops were not sufficient to defend so extended a position, Perponcher did his best with the forces at his disposal. However, when Wellington returned from his interview with Blücher at 2.30 p.m., he found that Ney had driven back the Prince of Orange from the advanced positions of the enemy, and had taken two guns. He judged the situation critical and serious. But reinforcements arrived, Van Merlin by the Nivelles road, and Picton by the Brussels road. At about 3.30 p.m. Picton moved towards the left to defend the Namur road, with the brigades of Kempt and Pack kneeling in the first line, in the cornfields, and the Hanoverian brigade in the second line, protected by the slope of the ground. At this moment the French were pushing their advantage with considerable success, and Wellington personally was forced to retire.

Just at this moment, a little before 4 p.m., Soult's letter dated 2 p.m. arrived, ordering Ney to press the enemy

hard and then to return to Brye to surround the Prussians. Ney now made a general move in advance. The allies began to give way on the right and the centre. The Brunswickers charged the French infantry; but at the head of his lancers a ball struck the Duke in the stomach and he was carried into a house where he died during the evening. He was the son of the Duke who had issued the notorious manifesto against the French Revolutionists, and who had been mortally wounded in the battle of Auerstadt. Twice the Duke of Wellington was in personal danger: once he escaped from his pursuers by jumping a garden fence; and at another time an officer, coming up from the rear to attack him, was shot through both legs by some soldiers, who faced round just in time, and his horse fell dead as he reached the Duke.

In order to complete his attack, Ney had reckoned upon the assistance of d'Erlon's division, which was 20,000 strong, and we must now follow the fortunes of that unhappy general. In the morning d'Erlon had concentrated his five divisions at Jumet, about 1½ miles behind Gosselies, where he had arrived the evening before with the divisions of Durutte and Donzelot. As Reille's division did not leave Gosselies, he awaited instructions. A little before 11 a.m. he was ordered by Reille to prepare to follow him, saying, however, that he should not move till he received further orders. At 12.15 he received an order from Ney to advance, but he had to wait until Reille's corps was on the march. His advanced guard did not arrive at Gosselies till 2 p.m., and he waited there an hour. At about 4 p.m., when about two miles from Frasnes, he received the order from the Emperor previously mentioned, telling him to march to the heights of St. Amand to attack Ligny. Unfortunately he misread the order, which was badly written in pencil, and mistook "sur la hauteur de Saint Amand" for "á la hauteur de St. Amand," and therefore instead of taking the direction of Brye and Ligny

to attack the Prussians in the rear, he marched towards St. Amand and Fleurus, which merely had the effect of prolonging Napoleon's left, first sending a message to Ney to inform him of what he was doing. He was, however, so near the enemy that he could distinctly read the numbers painted on the Prussian knapsacks. His artillery came into action, and was just about to open fire when he was recalled. Ney, on hearing of his march, was beside himself with rage, especially when he received the despatch of Soult a few minutes afterwards, telling him that the fate of France was in his hands. He now saw the head of Alten's division advancing from Quatre Bras, and knew that he would be severely attacked. He also believed that the project of the Emperor for destroying the Prussian army could not be realized, in which he was mistaken. He entirely lost his self-command, and prayed that he might soon be killed by one of the English bullets which were striking the ground and rebounding close to him. His expression was most energetic: "Ah! ces boulets anglais je voudrais qu'ils m'entrassent tous dans le ventre." In this condition it is hardly strange if he sent an imperative order to d'Erlon to return at once, although he must have been aware that he could be of no use. In his despair he thought it possible that he might crush the English by a charge, and then join d'Erlon and carry out the design of the Emperor. All his troops were engaged except Kellermann's cuirassiers and the cavalry of the Guard. He said to Kellermann, "My dear general, the safety of France is at stake. An extraordinary effort is needed from your cavalry. Throw yourselves into the midst of the English: crush them: ride over their bodies." Kellermann pointed out to him that the English were 25,000 strong that he had with him only one brigade of cuirassiers, his three other brigades being in the rear. Ney replied "What does it matter? Charge with what you have! Ride over them. I will follow you with all the cavalry in the

field. Be off—only be off!" Kellermann hastened to obey, and advanced his men quickly, that they might not be aware of the extent of the danger. On the west side of the road stood the brigade of Colin Halkett, "preparing for cavalry," his soldiers formed in squares, calm, resolute, and immovable, reserving their fire. The 69th, who were in lines of columns, did not fire till the enemy were thirty paces distant. The cuirassiers passed through the hail of balls like lightning. They then attacked the 69th, and in less than two minutes 150 of their 580 men were lying on the ground, dead or dying. They then charged the square of the 30th, and fell upon the 33rd. They mounted the slope, sabred some gunners at their guns, broke a square of Brunswickers, and reached the large farm of Quatre Bras. Kellermann had achieved considerable success. His two regiments, now reduced to 500 riders of breathless horses, found themselves in the midst of Wellington's army. They were swept by the fire of the Dutch from the wood of Bossu, of the English from the causeway of the Namur road, of the Brunswickers from the village of Quatre Bras, by other Germans from the Brussels road. Kellermann's horse was killed under him, and when he fell his soldiers broke and fled. At this moment Ney, having had two horses killed under him, was standing in the most exposed position, transported with rage, his face suffused with blood, brandishing his sword like a madman. Baudus, sent by Napoleon, found him in this condition, and reported the Emperor's orders that d'Erlon should support him at all hazards, so that he might make an end of the Prussian army. Ney admitted that he had just sent d'Erlon an imperative order to return, and it was impossible to make him recall it. The French fought bravely, and the battle was not over till 9 p.m.; 4300 French and 4700 allies lay dead and wounded on the field. The battle was undoubtedly lost by the French, although the two armies occupied the positions which they had held in the morning.

Just at the conclusion of the struggle, d'Erlon's corps advanced from Frasnes along the Brussels road.

When d'Erlon received Ney's order to return at 6 p.m., he hesitated whether to obey the marshal or the Emperor. He said afterwards, "I judged that the marshal must be in great peril, to recall me contrary to the wish of the Emperor." But he should have reflected that he was only three kilometres from Fleurus and three leagues from Quatre Bras. He could crush the Prussians, but he could not assist Ney. When they returned to Frasnes at nightfall, his troops were irritated and ashamed of having done nothing during the day.

We have seen that although the centre of the Prussians had been broken at Ligny, the two wings had been able to retreat in good order, and therefore the Emperor did not at first think of pursuing them beyond Sombreffe. He was also anxious about the fate of his left wing, as during the whole of the day he had not received a single despatch from Ney. So when Grouchy came to him at Fleurus at 11 p.m. to ask for orders, he told him to pursue the enemy at daybreak with the cavalry of Pajol and Exelmans. Whilst Napoleon was at breakfast about 7 a.m., Flahaut came back from Frasnes and gave him an account of the battle of Quatre Bras. About the same time he received a despatch from Pajol dated Balâtre, 4 a.m., saying that he was following the enemy, who were in full retreat towards Liége and Namur, and that he had already made a number of prisoners. Balâtre is three kilometres south of Sombreffe. He inferred, therefore, that the Prussians were retreating towards Liége and Namur, and that the English were still holding Quatre Bras, but he could not tell whether the whole Prussian army had taken this direction, or whether the whole English army was holding Quatre Bras or merely the rear-guard. At the same time Grouchy came for orders, and was told to accompany the Emperor to the hill of Brye. Soult also wrote to Ney at about the

same hour that he was to send accurate information about his position. If Wellington's army was at Quatre Bras, the Emperor would attack it from the Namur road, but if there was only a rear-guard, Ney was to attack it and take possession. A little before 9 a.m. Napoleon left the château of Fleurus to visit the field of battle. Finding that his travelling carriage was impeded by the ground, he mounted on horseback and rode through Ligny, St. Amand, and La Haye. He was especially kind to the Prussian wounded. Finding a Prussian colonel very badly mutilated, he called a peasant, and said to him in a grave tone, "Do you believe in hell?" "Yes," was the reply. "Well, if you do not wish to go to hell, take care of this wounded man whom I entrust to your charge. If not, God will burn you; He wishes that you should be charitable." Arriving at the mill of Bussy, he passed his troops in review, and the shouts of "Vive l'Empereur!" were heard by the Prussians two miles off. He then had a long conversation with Grouchy and other generals about the political condition of Paris, apparently adjourning the moment of decisive military action.

About 11 a.m. the Emperor received three pieces of information: one from Ney, that the English were holding Quatre Bras in force; another from Pajol, that he had captured eight guns and many carriages on the Namur road; and a third from Exelmans, that the Prussians had been seen near Gembloux, which is about four miles north-east of Sombreffe, on the Namur road. He was now in a position to make some definite arrangements. He therefore told Lobau to support Ney at Quatre Bras by turning the English left, and Drouot to support the movement with the whole of the Guard. The Emperor then said to Grouchy, "While I march against the English you will pursue the Prussians. You will have under your orders the corps of Vandamme and Gérard, the division of Teste, the cavalry of Pajol, Exelmans, and Milhaud." On second

thoughts, however, he transferred some of Grouchy's cavalry to himself. A little later he extended the verbal order he had given to Grouchy in writing as follows: "Go to Gembloux with the cavalry of Pajol and Exelmans, with the light cavalry of the 4th corps, the division of Teste, and the 3rd and 4th corps of infantry. Send scouts in the direction of Namur and Maestricht, and pursue the enemy. Find out the direction of his march, and instruct me about his movements so that I may penetrate his designs. I am fixing my head-quarters at Quatre Chemins, where the English were this morning. Our communication will therefore be direct by the paved Namur road. If the enemy has evacuated Namur write to the general commanding the 2nd military division at Charlemont, so that he may occupy the town with some battalions of the National Guard. It is important to find out what Blücher and Wellington are going to do, if they propose to join their forces to cover Brussels and Liége and to risk a battle. In any case keep your two infantry corps always within the space of three square miles, with several means of retreat. Place detachments of cavalry so as to communicate with Head-Quarters." The force under Grouchy's order amounted to about 33,000 men. The distance between Gembloux and Quatre Bras, following the high road, would be about eleven miles. At midday Soult had joined the Emperor. He made him write to Ney that he should attack the English at once, and that he would be supported by the Emperor. Napoleon then set out for Quatre Bras, taking with him the soldiers of Lobau, all the Guard, the division of Domon and Subervie, and the cuirassiers of Milhaud.

Napoleon, Soult, Grouchy, and the whole of the French staff, believed that the Prussians were retreating toward the Meuse, whereas they were really retiring on the Dyle. It will be remembered that in the battle of Ligny Blücher was thrown from his horse and nearly made prisoner. He

was carried into a cottage bruised and fainting, and his staff did not know whether he was a prisoner or free, alive or dead. The command developed upon Gneisenau, who was the senior officer, and the responsibility of determining the line of retreat devolved upon him. On horseback in the middle of the road from Brye to Namur he consulted his map by the light of the moon, and gave the order, "Retreat on Tilly and Wavre." Wellington wrote a few days afterwards to the King of Holland that this was "the decisive moment of the generation." But Gneisenau in all probability did not realize its importance.

On leaving the Emperor at 11.30 a.m. close to the mill of Bussy, Grouchy sent a message to General Vandamme at Saint Amand to march to a point called Point du Jour, where the road from Namur to Nivelles crossed that from Charleroi to Gembloux. He also sent Exelmans on to Gembloux. He then rode to Ligny to give his instructions to Gérard orally. On the way he met Soult, who was going to join the Imperial staff. When he had left, Soult remarked to an aide-de-camp, "It is a mistake to detach so large a body from the army which is going to march against the English. A weak corps of infantry and the cavalry of Exelmans and Pajol would be sufficient to follow the Prussians." At Ligny, Grouchy found Gérard in a bad humour because he had not been made a marshal after the battle. He ordered him to march to Gembloux, but he was obliged to wait till the corps of Vandamme had marched on the same route. Vandamme's corps did not reach Point du Jour till 3 p.m., marching at the rate of two kilometres an hour, the ground being almost impassable from the torrential rains. Grouchy arrived at this point at the same time as Vandamme; how he had spent the interval no one can say.

At Point du Jour or at Sombreffe, Grouchy received a letter from Exelmans saying that he saw masses of the Prussian army on the left bank of the Orneau, and that he

would follow them when they began to march. Grouchy ought to have galloped on to Gembloux directly, but he remained with the troops, who proceeded very slowly. Vandamme reached that village at 7 p.m., and Grouchy at 9 p.m. The Prussians had departed some time before, and Exelmans had lost touch with them. Grouchy caught or inspired the contagion of sloth. He stayed at Gembloux for the night. It is true that the roads were in a terrible condition and that the rain was falling in torrents, but that impeded the Prussians as much as the French. In the night Grouchy received several pieces of intelligence which might have made him infer that the Prussians were marching upon Wavre. From Gembloux the Prussians might take two routes—that to Perwez towards the east, which would lead them to Liége, and that to Wavre to the north, which would effect their junction with Wellington. Grouchy wrote to the Emperor at 10 p.m. that the Prussians had apparently divided into two columns, one going to Wavre and the other to Perwez; that he inferred that a part was marching to join Wellington, whilst the centre, under Blücher, was retreating to Liége; that if the mass of the Prussians retired on Wavre he would follow them in that direction. But it is the opinion of those best able to judge that he neglected the first of these alternatives and fixed his mind entirely on the second.

On the side of Quatre Bras French and English remained in their positions during the morning of June 17. Ney did not hear the result of the battle of Ligny till 9 a.m. Wellington, who had slept at Genappe, returned early in the morning to Quatre Bras. He sent an aide-de-camp, Colonel Gordon, to gain information. Gordon met Ziethen at Tilly, and heard from him that the Prussian army was beaten or was retreating on Wavre. He gave this information to Wellington at 7.30 a.m., who, in his impatience, was walking up and down the Charleroi road

in front of Quatre Bras. Wellington now knew that he must retire, to avoid being attacked by Ney in front and by Napoleon on the flank. He said to Müffling, "Old Blücher has received a damned good hiding. He has gone eighteen miles to the rear. We must do the same. I suppose they will say in England that we have been beaten. I cannot help it." Müffling observed that matters were not so bad after all.

Wellington determined to take up a position on the plateau of Mont St. Jean, which he had reconnoitred for that purpose the year before, so he delayed the retreat till 10 a.m. He ordered Hill to withdraw to Waterloo the divisions which were marching on Quatre Bras. He then wrapped himself up in his cloak and went to sleep till 9 a.m. At this moment a messenger came from Gneisenau to say that the whole Prussian army was concentrating at Wavre, and to ask his intentions. The Duke replied, "I am going to take up my position at Mont St. Jean, and shall there await Napoleon and engage a battle if I have the hope of being supported by a single Prussian corps. But if this support fails me, I shall be compelled to sacrifice Brussels and to retreat behind the Scheldt." The English now began their retreat without any interference from Ney. The divisions of Cook and Picton, the Dutch-Belgians of Perponcher, the division of Alten, and the corps of Brunswick, retired successively by the Brussels road. The cavalry of Uxbridge masked and covered the retreat without Ney doing anything to inconvenience him. At about 1 p.m. Napoleon arrived at Marbais, about three miles from Quatre Bras, where he waited to receive news of Ney or to hear the sound of his cannon. When he heard nothing, he determined to push on to Quatre Bras and form his troops in order of battle. He soon received information from an English camp-follower that no troops remained in that position except the cavalry of Lord Uxbridge. It was

now 2 p.m., and a heavy storm was coming up. Suddenly Lord Uxbridge saw appear on a ridge of rising ground a horseman, followed by a small escort, who stood out against the sky like a statue. Lord Uxbridge recognized Napoleon and cried, "Fire! and aim well!" The English guns were replied to by the artillery of the Guard. Then the lightning flashed and the rain began to fall in torrents.

Napoleon had indeed good reason to be discontented. He sent for d'Erlon and Ney. He reproached the first for having delayed on the previous day his movement against the Prussian right wing. D'Erlon excused himself by saying that, being placed under the direct command of Ney, he thought that it was his duty to obey the direct command of his immediate chief. He found fault with Ney for not having occupied Quatre Bras in the morning of June 16, and said, "France is lost." He had previously sent a letter to Ney at 8 a.m., which contained these words: "The Emperor has seen with pain that you did not succeed yesterday; the divisions did not act together, and therefore you suffered losses. If the divisions of d'Erlon and Reille had been together, not an Englishman would have escaped; if d'Erlon had executed the movement which Napoleon ordered, the Prussian army would have been destroyed and we might have captured 30,000 prisoners." It is, indeed, inconceivable that Ney should have been left so long without news of the battle of Ligny. Napoleon now bent all his energy to the pursuit of the English, with the hope of forcing them to an engagement. The English galloped away, the French following like a fox hunt, hussars and artillery going like mad, blinded by the lightning and lashed by the rain. Lord Uxbridge rode at the side of his troops, crying, "Faster! faster! or you will be taken!" The English arrived at Genappe, crossed the Dyle, and took up a position to the north. A combat took place in the long street of the village, and the English were slowly driven back. Napoleon arrived upon the

scene dripping wet, and placing a battery in position, called out to the gunners, in accents of rage and hatred, "Fire! fire! they are English!" After passing Genappe the pace slackened considerably, and the roads became almost impassable from the rain. Napoleon arrived at an inn called the "Belle Alliance," so named because the old and ugly innkeeper had married a young and pretty peasant. At 6.30 p.m. the French hussars were pursuing the Brunswick infantry down the hollow, when they were brought up by the fire of the English artillery. The rain had ceased, but a damp fog enveloped the plain. The Emperor at last became certain that he had the whole of Wellington's army before him, and determined to halt. After marking out the bivouacs for the different divisions, the Emperor returned to sleep at the farm of Le Caillou, where the rooms he occupied are still to be seen. The French passed a terrible night in the wet cornfields; the English were better off, because the bulk of their army had reached their positions before the rain began. The cavalry of Lord Uxbridge suffered most. Both commanders spent the night in anxiety. Napoleon felt certain that he could destroy the English, provided that they did not retreat and the Prussians did not come up in force to assist them. Wellington scarcely dared to fight unless he were sure of some Prussian co-operation; but he received a letter from Blücher at his head-quarters in the village of Waterloo about 2 a.m., saying that he would despatch Bülow's corps to join the English at daybreak, and send after it that of Pirch. His other two corps should follow if not prevented. He must keep Thielmann and Ziethen to oppose Grouchy. Napoleon slept but little. At about 1 a.m. he visited the outposts with Bertrand, the rain falling in torrents. The army of the allies was sunk in sleep, but red fires gleamed on the horizon. There was no sign of retreat, and the Emperor knew that the day would witness a decisive battle. He felt certain of victory, and that the

pale sun, which now began to pierce the clouds, would witness the destruction of the English; but his patience was sorely tried by having to delay the attack. The rain had ceased, but the ground was extremely heavy; orders, however, were given to be ready for the battle at 9 a.m., after the soldiers had eaten their soup.

Authorities.—The present writer has been acquainted with the field of Waterloo for more than fifty years, and has read much of the literature on the battle. In the present chapter he has mainly followed Houssaye. He has had the advantage of reading Professor Oman's chapter in the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. IX.

CHAPTER XVII

WATERLOO

IN order to carry out his promise of assisting Wellington, Blücher had given orders on the night of June 17, to Bülow, to march at daybreak to Chapelle St. Lambert, about five miles due east of Mont St. Jean, and Pirch I, to follow. Bülow, Ziethen and Thielmann, were to remain on the left bank of the Dyle. His reason for employing Bülow was that the troops were fresh, not having been engaged at Ligny. But Pirch, who was nearer to Chapelle St. Lambert than Bülow, ought to have moved first instead of waiting for the advance of Bülow's corps. If this had been done, half the Prussian army could have been concentrated at Chapelle St. Lambert before midday. As it was, Bülow's advanced guard did not reach Wavre till 7 a.m., and was delayed two hours there by a fire; and his army did not reach Chapelle St. Lambert till 3 p.m., Pirch's corps being far behind. Blücher, although severely injured, set out to join him, saying, "Notwithstanding that I suffer from my fall, I would rather be tied on to my horse than miss the battle."

Grouchy knew that the Prussians were concentrating on Wavre, but he imagined, for some reason, that they only intended to halt there and then to march straight on to Brussels, which lay about eighteen miles to the north-west. Grouchy had under him 33,000 soldiers and 116 guns. Whatever plan he followed, he should have ordered Vandamme and Gérard to march soon after daybreak,

which on June 18 was 2.30 a.m. Instead of this, his orders were that Vandamme should start at 6 a.m. and Gérard at 8 a.m. He did not himself leave Gembloux till between 8 and 9, and came up with Vandamme at Walhain about 10 a.m. Here he received false information that the Prussians were marching on Louvain. He then wrote to Napoleon, saying that he hoped that evening to be concentrated at Wavre, between Wellington and the Prussians. He asked for orders as to what he was to do on the morrow. The morrow! Having written this letter, he sat down to breakfast, and was eating his strawberries when Gérard arrived. It was now 11.30, and the two generals went down into the garden, where they distinctly heard the sound of cannon. Placing his ears to the ground to ascertain the direction, Gérard said, "I think we ought to march towards the cannon." The ground shook, and clouds of smoke were seen towards the west. A peasant said, "They are fighting at Mont St. Jean; we can be there in four or five hours' march." An inhabitant said, "It is on the edge of the forest of Soignies, about three leagues and a half distant (ten miles). It was really twelve or more. Gérard and Valazé said, "We must march to the cannon." Grouchy was piqued at this interference and alleged the Emperor's orders and the difficulty of the roads. The conversation became animated. Gérard said, "Monsieur le Maréchal, it is your duty to march to the cannon." Grouchy replied angrily, "My duty is to execute the orders of the Emperor, who orders me to follow the Prussians. To obey your advice would be to violate his orders." As they were mounting their horses Gérard made a last effort, "If you will not march towards the forest of Soignies with all your troops, allow me to make the movement with my corps and the cavalry of General Villers." Grouchy absolutely refused, and galloped away.

The battle of Waterloo was fought between two heights, each rising to the elevation of about 400 feet, running

parallel to each other from west to east. They are separated by two valleys, traversed by the high road from Charleroi to Brussels, the valley of Smohain to the east and that of Braine l'Alleud to the west. The distance between Belle Alliance and Mont St. Jean is about three-quarters of a mile as the crow flies. The British position was well protected by hedges on a hollow road, with a depth of from six to ten feet. There were two outlying natural fortresses, that of Hougoumont in front of the British right, and La Haye Sainte in front of their centre. Behind their station the ground sloped considerably, so that neither their true position nor the movement of the troops in their rear could be perceived by the enemy, whereas Napoleon's troops were all visible to the British. The Nivelles road also passed to the west of Hougoumont and joined the Charleroi road at Mont St. Jean. The British troops woke at break of day, lighted their fires, prepared their breakfast, cleaned their uniforms and their arms, and at about 6 a.m. took up their position for the battle. The first line was drawn up behind the main Ohain road, deep and lined by hedges, the guards of Byng and Maitland, then Colin Halkett and Kielmansegge and Ompteda, reaching from the Nivelles road to the Brussels road. On the other side of the road followed Kempt, Pack and Picton, the Dutch of Bylandt, and the Hanoverians of Best. These nine brigades formed the centre, or more properly speaking the front of the allied army, for in Wellington's disposition there was no centre, but a right and left centre separated by the Brussels road, and two wings. The right wing, consisting of the English brigade of Adam and Mitchell, of William Halkett's Hanoverian brigade and of the German brigade of Duplat, was drawn up "en potence." Between the road of Nivelles and Merbe Braine, on the extreme right was the Dutch-Belgian brigade of Chassé, in front of Braine l'Alleud. The left wing consisted of the Nassau brigade of the Prince of Saxe Weimar and the Hanoverian brigade of

Wincke, flanked by the cavalry of Vandeleur and Vivian. There were also two lines of reserves, the second being close to the village of Mont St. Jean. Behind the centre were placed the horse-guards of Somerset and the dragoons of Ponsonby, and behind them the Dutch and Belgian cavalry of Ghigny. Next to Somerset were the Nassau troops of Kruse, and behind them the whole of the Brunswickers and the Germans of Arenschild. Behind Byng and Maitland were Grant and Dornberg, and to the left of Ponsonby the English brigade of Lambert. The artillery was disposed thus: four batteries on the front of the right centre, one exactly at the centre, four in front of the left centre, two on the right wing, two on the extreme right with Chassé, seven in the second line behind the right centre, and three in reserve close to the farm of Mont St. Jean.

Wellington, who experienced in Spain the impetuosity of the French attacks, was accustomed to employ special tactics to resist them. He placed his first line of infantry behind a ridge so that it might be invisible before the attack and during the attack itself. Not till the assailants had actually gained the summit of the ridge, confused by the fire of skirmishers and artillery, did the line of soldiers reveal itself, firing point blank at a short distance and following up with a bayonet charge. This arrangement was used with special effect at Waterloo, as with the exception of Bylandt's brigade and a chain of skirmishers all the infantry was posted a hundred or two hundred yards behind the Ohain road which constituted their front. By these means they, as well as the reserves, were completely concealed from view. Hougoumont was chiefly occupied by seven companies of the English guards and other troops; La Haye Sainte by five companies of the German legion; the sand-pit on the Brussels road behind La Haye Sainte by a battalion of the 95th; Papelotte, La Haye and Smohain by some of Saxe Weimar's troops. Wellington had his

principal confidence in his English troops. He had under him this day 68,000 men and 156 guns, having left 17,000 men and four guns at Hal, under the command of Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, to protect his right. He rode that day his favourite horse "Copenhagen" who died at a good old age in the paddocks of Strathfieldsaye. He wore buckskin breeches, top boots, a dark blue coat, a short cloak, a white tie, a little cocked hat without feathers, with four cockades, English, Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch. He was very calm and confident, being sure of the co-operation of the Prussians.

This was the first occasion on which Napoleon had ever come into direct conflict with English troops, and the confidence which he felt of victory was not shared by those of his generals who had had experience of them. He breakfasted at the farm of Le Caillou about 8 a.m. with Soult, Maret, Drouot, and other officers. The meal was served on silver plate with the Imperial arms. He said, 'The English army is larger than ours, by more than a quarter. We, have, however, ninety chances for us, and only ten against us." Ney came in from the outposts and said, "Doubtless if Wellington were simple enough to wait for you; but I tell you that his retreat is imminent, and that if you do not make haste to attack, he will escape you." Napoleon replied, "You are mistaken, there is no longer time. Wellington would expose himself to certain loss. He has thrown the dice, and they are for us." Soult was anxious. He did not fear the arrival of the Prussians, for he thought them thoroughly beaten, but he deeply regretted that 30,000 men had been detached under Grouchy, and pressed Napoleon to recall them; but the Emperor replied, with temper, "Because you have been beaten by Wellington you consider him a good general; but I tell you that Wellington is a bad general, that the English are bad troops, and that it will be all over before dinner." "I hope so," said Soult. Soon afterwards Reille

and Jerome entered the farm. Napoleon asked Reille his opinion about the English army, against which he had so often fought in Spain. He replied, "Well posted, according to Wellington's usual manner, and attacked in front, I consider the English infantry invincible, on account of their calm tenacity and the superiority of their fire; before you can charge with the bayonet you will have to wait till half the attacking party is killed. But the English army is less agile, less supple, and less able to manœuvre than we are: if it cannot be conquered by a direct attack it might be by manœuvring." Napoleon seemed to be irritated by these remarks, and refused to believe them.

The weather was now becoming clearer, and there was a strong drying wind. Napoleon called for his horse, and rode forward in front of Belle Alliance. He employed a guide a man named De Coster, who was tied upon a horse, which was itself attached to the saddle of one of the escorts. During the battle De Coster wriggled about to escape the balls, and the Emperor said to him, "But my friend, do not move about so much; you may be killed by a shot just as well behind as before, and it will make a worse wound." It is said that he gave false information all day. Having remained some time before Belle Alliance Napoleon moved to a little hill about a mile to the rear, near the farm of Rossomme, where he had chairs placed, and a table, on which he could spread his maps. About 2 p.m. he moved nearer to Belle Alliance, close to De Coster's house. There he walked up and down with his hands behind his back, sometimes stopping to lean upon the table.

When at Le Caillou Jerome told his brother of something he had heard the evening before in the hostelry of the Roi d'Espagne at Genappe. The waiter who served them at supper, and who had attended on the Duke of Wellington at breakfast, said that he had heard an English aide-de-camp speak of a concerted meeting between the English and the Prussians at the entrance of the forest of

Soignies. The Emperor made light of it. He said, "After a battle like that of Fleurus the Prussians cannot join the English in less than two days from now; besides, they have Grouchy at their heels." Napoleon now proceeded to pass his troops in review. The drums beat and the trumpets brayed, the bands played a patriotic air; as they passed the Emperor, the ensigns dipped their colours, the cavalry brandished their sabres, the infantry hoisted their caps on the top of their bayonets, while cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" drowned all other sounds. Never was greater enthusiasm displayed than in this last review, when far away in the distance was seen the dark red line of the English troops. Napoleon had under his command 71,947 men and 246 guns against the 68,000 soldiers of Wellington. Never up to that time had so large a number of combatants been confined in so small a space: the distance from the last reserve of Wellington's to the position of the Emperor's baggage was only about two miles and a half, and the front of each army did not exceed two miles in length.

The Emperor now dictated the following order to Soult: "As soon as the whole army is ranged in order of battle, about 1 p.m., when the Emperor shall give the command to Marshal Ney, the attack will begin for the purpose of gaining possession of the village of Mont St. Jean, where the roads intersect. For this purpose the 12-pounders belonging to the 2nd and 6th corps will join those of the 1st corps. These 24 guns will fire upon the troops at Mont St. Jean, and d'Erlon will begin the attack by charging with his left division." It is evident from this that the Emperor's first plan was simply to pierce the centre of the English at Mont St. Jean. There can be little doubt that he underrated the strength of the English army; he did not know how many men were concealed behind the slope, or by what outworks the front was protected. As soon as he had written this Napoleon prepared for his main assault by

directing an attack on Hougoumont, with the object of inducing Wellington to weaken his centre. The first shot was fired at 11.50 a.m. Protected by artillery fire, Jerome Bonaparte advanced towards Hougoumont, having orders to remain behind the wood, only sending forward a good line of skirmishers. Hougoumont had been strongly garrisoned and the walls were pierced for musketry, so that it offered serious resistance. Jerome, contrary to orders, persisted in the attack. A few Frenchmen succeeded in entering the courtyard, but they were cut down, and not one escaped. Wellington only thought it necessary to despatch four companies of the Coldstreams to defend the château. Jerome's battalions, taken between two fires, were decimated and were forced to retire partly into the wood, and partly towards the Nivelles road.

Whilst this was going on, Napoleon was making preparations for his grand attack; but just at this moment he perceived a dark mass now appearing about six miles to the north-east, and seeming to issue from the wood of the Chapelle St. Lambert. Speculations as to its nature were speedily cut short by the arrival of an intercepted letter from Bülow to Wellington, announcing that his corps had reached Chapelle St. Lambert. The dark cloud was the advance guard of Bülow. At the same time a letter came from Grouchy saying that the whole of the Prussian army was marching in the direction of Brussels. Upon this he sent fresh instructions to Grouchy, ordering him to manœuvre in his direction and to lose no time in attacking Bülow's corps. He was not much put out by this news, but said to Soult, "This morning we had ninety chances out of a hundred in our favour; we have now sixty and if Grouchy repairs his errors, we shall gain a still more decisive victory, because Bülow's corps will be destroyed. However, he detached some troops to cover his right flank and to give support to Grouchy when he arrived.

It was now about 1.30, when the Emperor gave Ney the order to attack. An artillery duel lasted for half an hour. Then the four divisions of Allix, Donzelot, Marcognet and Durutte advanced in échelon by the left, with five hundred yards between them. The assault was led by Ney and d'Erlon. The soldiers descended into the valley with cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" under the iron rain of English and French bullets, which crossed over their heads. Allix attacked the farm of La Haye Sainte, which like Hougoumont was strongly defended, and Wellington watched the struggle at the foot of a large elm-tree to the west of the Brussels road, at the point where it is crossed by the Ohain road. He remained there during nearly the whole battle, surrounded by his staff and the foreign commissioners. He sent a battalion of the German legion to assist Baring at La Haye Sainte. At first everything appeared to go well for the French, and it was evident that, if they could only reach the ridge and hold it long enough for the cavalry to come up, the battle would be over. When the French artillery opened fire, Wellington had withdrawn Picton's division, consisting of the brigades of Kempt and Pack, 150 yards from the road. The men were three in line, but lying down in the corn in order to avoid the cannon-balls. At the critical moment Picton called upon his men to rise; they fired at forty paces; the French wavered; Picton cried, "Charge! Charge! Hurrah!" and drove the French back, but fell in the moment of success, pierced by a ball in the temple. In a similar manner the third column was repulsed by the Highlanders of Pack. At the same instant Somerset's cavalry, consisting of the first and second Life Guards, the Blues, and the Royal Dragoons, chased the French cuirassiers, and drove the brigade of Travers down the valley. Ponsonby's brigade also fell upon the columns of Donzelot, the Highlanders and the Scots Greys exchanging shouts of "Scotland for ever!" The French troops, much too thickly massed, were

slaughtered like sheep; they lost two eagles, 3000 prisoners, and thousands of killed and wounded. The British horse now galloped down the valley and up the opposite slope, but they were received by the French reserves and repulsed with considerable loss, the gallant Ponsonby being killed by a lancer. Of the 2500 who charged, 1000 were left behind. A vigorous struggle was also raging round Hougoumont. Three battalions of English guards, a battalion of Brunswickers, a battalion of the German legion, had reinforced the garrison. The buildings were bombarded, as they should have been at first, and were set on fire, but the fire was itself a hindrance to the French advance; indeed, the conflict round the château was of little advantage to either party. Mr. Oman is of opinion that Napoleon would have been wise to have broken off the battle at this point.

The object of Wellington was to hold his position until the Prussians could come up; that of Napoleon was to finish with the English before he should have to deal with Blücher. Wellington had hoped that Blücher would begin his attack at 2 p.m.; it was now 3.30, and the Prussians had hardly begun to make their appearance. Napoleon at this time received the letter from Grouchy, dated at Walhain, 11.30, asking for instructions for the following day, and this greatly disturbed him. He repeated his orders to Grouchy to come up as soon as possible. He now ordered Ney to make a second attack upon La Haye Sainte, intending to make this farm a rallying place for the divisions of d'Erlon and Reille, when he had taken Hougoumont, also for the cavalry and the footguards. The assault was accomplished by a violent cannonade, the like of which had never been heard, even by the oldest soldiers. Some of the English first line retired, so as to be protected by the slope of the ground, while wounded, and prisoners, and empty wagons began to move along the Soignies road. Ney, seeing imperfectly through the smoke,

thought that the English were retreating, and ordered the cavalry to advance, a movement of which it is possible that Napoleon was ignorant. He got together five thousand magnificent horsemen, including the light cavalry of the Guard, and forming them in the hollow to the left of the Brussels road, he placed himself at their head and charged the English army.

Wellington thought so little of retreating that he strengthened his first line by some of his second line and reserves. The Brunswickers came to help Maitland, and the brigades of Mitchell and Adam crossed the Nivelles road to take position north of Hougoumont, in front of the Ohain road. At the same time the staff was anxiously watching the movement which Napoleon was preparing. When they saw the cavalry approach they were greatly relieved. They knew how fruitless it would be to charge an infantry not yet shaken, which, thanks to the protection of the ground, had not suffered from the cannonade. The soldiers were formed into squares, the guns were placed on the crest, with their horses in the rear, and the gunners had orders, if attacked, to leave their pieces and retire into the squares. The cavalry rode against the artillery, exposed to a murderous fire upon their flank as they laboriously mounted the slope. Twenty battalions of the allies were formed into squares; their fire rattled upon the cuirasses of the enemy like hail on a slated roof; but no efforts of the French cavalry could break the British squares. They were at last driven from the plateau by a charge of Uxbridge's horse, and the gunners, recovering their pieces, turned them with murderous effect against the fugitives.

Once more the brave cavalry of Milhaud and Lefebvre Desnouettes, re-forming in the hollow, resumed the charge; once more they laboriously climbed the heights and captured the guns. Gould, colonel in the artillery, said to Mercer, "I fear all is over." The Emperor, when he at

last realized what had occurred, said to Soult that the premature attack might lose the battle, that it should have been made an hour later; still, it was necessary to support what had been done. He gave orders to Kellermann to charge with his heavy brigade, but at this very time he was being attacked by the Prussians on his right flank.

About 1 p.m. Blücher had joined the main mass of Bülow's army at Chapelle St. Lambert. Here he waited for information, and reached the wood of Paris about three miles from Planchenoit at 4 p.m. Half an hour later he determined to advance. The position was defended by Lobau, but having only 10,000 men to oppose 30,000 Prussians, he was compelled to retire just as the direct attacks on Mont St. Jean were seen to be a failure. In this manner the Prussians became masters of Planchenoit, but they were driven out by four regiments of the Young Guard. At about 5.30 p.m. more than 60 squadrons of cavalry were mounting the slope towards the English position; 8000 or 9000 horsemen in a space only large enough for 1000 to deploy in. They covered the whole ground between Hougoumont and La Haye Sainte, and the files were so close that the horses were pushed upwards by the pressure. The mass of cuirasses, helmets, and sabres resembled a sea of steel. They were met by the same tactics as before, abandonment of guns, and formation of squares upon which the French produced no effect, although some squares were charged as many as thirteen times. Ney, after having three horses killed under him, stood close to the side of an abandoned battery, striking the mouth of an English gun with the flat of his sword.

At last Wellington, having left the square of the 73rd regiment, in which he had taken refuge, urged his cavalry once more upon the broken French, and they were driven down the slope for the third time. Once more they charged again, with Ney at their head, shouting "Vive l'Empereur!", a charge as fruitless as those which had preceded it. They

crossed the line of guns, threw themselves against the rampart of corpses, by which each square was protected, and retired of their own accord to the bottom of the valley. After these four charges Ney set in motion 6000 infantry soldiers, which he had not previously used. But it was too late; they were crushed by the English fire. Foy, an eye-witness, says that it was "une grêle de morts." In a few moments 1500 men were killed, wounded, and dispersed. In these furious attacks Ney had forgotten his principal duty, which was to capture La Haye Sainte. At 6 p.m. he was ordered by Napoleon, who was crossing the battlefield under a hail of balls and bullets, to capture it at all hazards. The task was at length achieved, when the ammunition of the garrison who held it was exhausted, and Baring led back to the presence of his chief only forty-two men out of his nine companies.

The centre of the allies was holding firm, but on the left the line was wavering. An aide-de-camp of Alten says, "The centre of the line was open; we were in danger; at any moment the issue of the battle could not be doubtful. Wellington became anxious. He saw the Prussians on the French flank, but he received no assistance from them. He was heard to mutter, "Would that night, or the Prussians, would come!" But his resolution held firm. When asked for orders he replied, "I have no orders to give, but hold out to the last man." Ney saw the opportunity, but he had no fresh troops at his disposal. He sent an orderly to the Emperor to ask for some infantry, but Napoleon replied, "Soldiers! Where do you think I can get them from? Do you wish me to make them?" It is true that Napoleon had at his disposal, at this moment, eight battalions of the Old Guard and six of the middle guard, and it is the opinion of Kennedy that if he had used them at this juncture, the centre of the English line might have been forced. But having no reserve of cavalry, he needed them to defend his own position. The Prussian artillery were already

playing upon the heights of La Belle Alliance. He formed eleven battalions of the Guard in squares, and placed them fronting Planchenoit along the Brussels road from La Belle Alliance to Rossomme.

It was now about 7.30 p.m., but there were yet two hours of daylight, and the sun was shining above Braine l'Alleud. The cannon of Grouchy was heard towards Limale, about seven miles distant. It was natural to suppose that he was engaged with the Prussians, and would prevent them from effectively helping the English. The Emperor steadily reconnoitred the English position through his field-glass, and they seemed to him shaken; he imagined that Wellington had engaged the whole of his troops, while he himself still kept his Old Guard, his invincibles. He gave orders to Drouot to advance with nine battalions of the Guard, formed into squares, leaving two at Planchenoit and three on the ridge. Napoleon placed himself at the head of the first square and descended the slope towards La Haye Sainte. Some English authorities are of opinion that the attack might have succeeded if it had been undertaken half an hour earlier; but the decisive moment was now past, and during the recapture of Planchenoit and the preparations for the final attack, Wellington had been able to strengthen his position. Just at this moment a fresh body of Prussians was seen to be approaching the field of battle on the English left at Smohain, and the first effect of this arrival was to set free the cavalry of Vandeleur and Vivian, who were covering that side of the British army. Ziethen, whose corps it was, had arrived at Ohain with his vanguard at 6 p.m. Here Colonel Fremantle came to him, sent by Wellington, and begged him to support his chief with 3000 men without delay. Ziethen was unwilling to run the risk of having his army beaten in detail, and he was not persuaded until Müffling, a Prussian general attached to the English army, had enforced the request in person. The Prussians were marching over Smohain

just as the Guard was descending to La Haye Sainte. The troops began to waver at the sight of this new enemy appearing in the most critical quarter, but the Emperor addressed them, and they moved forward again. The arrival of these fresh forces made the defeat of the French almost certain; but it is doubtful whether Napoleon could at this moment have broken off the battle, and it was probably wiser to make a last supreme effort than to anticipate a rout which could hardly be worse if it followed a defeat.

The effect of Ziethen's arrival was to precipitate the Emperor's attack. When six battalions of the Guard had reached La Haye Sainte, he placed one of them on a little hill half-way between that farm and Hougoumont, and entrusted the command of the rest to Ney, ordering him to attack the right centre of the English. At the same time he commanded the artillery to quicken their fire, and the cavalry to support the advance of the Guard. He also ordered La Bédoyère and other officers to pass along the line and to announce the speedy arrival of Grouchy, a pardonable falsehood, if it really was one. The troops were encouraged by this news, and reiterated cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" whilst the wounded cheered on the columns as they passed. Wellington was informed of this final attack by a traitor. A captain of carbineers rode to the 52nd regiment with his hand in the air, and cried, "Vive le roi! That brute Napoleon will be with you in half an hour with the Guard." Wellington made full preparations to meet the attack. Adam and Maitland returned to their old positions. The reserve artillery was brought up and the gunners were ordered not to reply to French cannon, but to concentrate their fire on the columns of attack and to resist to their last cartridge.

The five battalions of the Guard, led by Ney, formed into squares, and marched in échelon, with their right foremost, an oblique formation which has been blamed by military critics. The consequence of this was that they attacked

the English line at five different points. At each of these points except one, the attack was at the first moment successful, although the Guard was soon overpowered by the steadiness of their opponents and the deadly artillery fire. The third almost reached the ridge without meeting any infantry, and they were within pistol-shot of the Ohain road, when suddenly at the command of Wellington, "Up guards, and at them!", the guards of Maitland stood up in the corn at twenty paces like a red wall. The first volley killed three hundred men. The French halted. Instead of sending them forward with the bayonet the officers tried to re-form them and they stood in confusion for ten minutes. Wellington then ordered the charge. "Forward, boys!" cried Colonel Saltoun. "Now's the time!" The English troops drove the enemy victoriously down the slope to Hougoumont, the French and English being in such confusion that firing became impossible.

The cry which was raised of "The Guard gives way!" sounded the knell of the Grand Army. The cavalry of the Guard who were to support the attack were paralysed. There was a shout of "Sauve qui peut!", "We are betrayed!", and a general rout began. The Prussians pressed on the pursuit, and on the east of the great road there was the wildest confusion. This was the moment for which Wellington had waited so long. He rode to the edge of the ridge, took off his hat, and waved it in the air. Immediately the whole British line advanced just as they happened to stand, passing over dead and wounded alike, forty thousand men of all arms and many nations, marching to the sound of drums, trumpets, and bagpipes in the first shades of the evening twilight. The French made no resistance. La Haye Sainte was abandoned, so was Hougoumont and its wood. The cavalry of Vivian and Vandeleur cut the fugitives to pieces, with cries of "No quarter! No quarter!"

The Emperor was forming his best troops in columns of attack, when he saw his line of battle suddenly collapse. He knew that he was irremediably defeated, but he still had hope of organizing the retreat, and for this purpose he formed three squares of the Old Guard, placing them about a hundred yards from La Haye Sainte; but they were not able to make head against the English cavalry. Ney was standing near the road, his head bare, his face blue with powder, his uniform in tatters, his epaulettes cut in two, and the fragment of a sword in his hand. He had done marvels that day, but he could not find the death which he was so anxious to meet. The three battalions of the Guard retreated step by step. As their losses prevented them from forming squares in the three lines, they formed triangles in two lines and pressed on slowly in the midst of the enemy and their flying countrymen. Every fifty yards they halted to re-form their ranks and repel a new charge of cavalry, or a new attack of infantry. In this tedious retreat they marched surrounded by the enemy, like some wild animal in the midst of the hounds. The English officers called on them to surrender. It was then that Cambronne is supposed to have replied, "The Guard dies, but does not surrender." What he really said was, "Merde!" Almost the moment afterwards he was shot and left for dead.

The Old Guard, now at the end of its existence, signalized itself by a final act of bravery and endeavour. The two battalions of the First Grenadiers, commanded by General Petit, were posted in squares on either side of the wood near the house of De Coster. They were the chosen troops of all, "a living and moving fortress," as Houssaye calls them; and with them it might still be possible to cover the retreat. The Emperor was seated on horseback in the centre of the square of the first battalion, and for some time they held their own against all attacks. At length they were compelled to

give way, and the Emperor rode before them, accompanied by Soult, Drouot, Bertrand, and Lobau. Arriving at the farm of Le Caillou, he found that his baggage had been sent on to Genappe.

At 9.15 p.m. when it was already dark, Wellington and Blücher met and saluted each other as conquerors. The band of the Prussian cavalry played "God save the King," and the foot soldiers of Bülow sang the hymn of Luther, "Nun danket alle Gott." It was decided that the pursuit should be continued throughout the night. The English were worn out with ten hours of fighting, and the Prussians had marched fifteen miles over bad roads. Nevertheless, Blücher ordered his cavalry to pursue the enemy so long as they had a man or a horse able to last. Wellington's troops stood still, and, as the Prussians marched past them, saluted them with shouts of "Hip! Hip! Hurrah!" From the ridge of Mont St. Jean to the heights of Rossomme, from Hougomont to Planchenoit, and even to Smohain, the ground was covered with corpses and dead horses. More than 25,000 French and 20,000 allies, English, Belgians, Germans, and Prussians, lay on the ground, seen distinctly under a bright moon. In the retreat the grenadiers still kept their position, marching at their ordinary pace and defying all attacks. At a mile and a half from Genappe their general broke them up into columns and sections, and the Emperor rode on to Genappe in the hope of stopping the enemy and rallying the remains of his army.

Two remarks of Napoleon, made when he witnessed the defeat of Waterloo, have been repeated by Flahaut, who was present. The first was, "Ils sont mêlés." ("They are mixed in confusion.") The second was the utterance of the despair of a lifetime: "It has always been the same since Creçy." The French character was not strong enough to support the edifice, which he might have raised securely on the basis of the English character.

Blücher stopped to sleep at the hostelry of the Roi d'Espagne, of which we have previously heard. Before he went to bed he wrote to his wife: "I have kept my promise; on the 16th, I was compelled to retire before a superior force, but on the 18th, together with my friend Wellington, I exterminated the army of Napoleon." He also wrote to Knesebeck: "My friend, we have fought the most splendid battle, and gained the most brilliant victory. Details will follow. I think that the history of Bonaparte is at an end. I can write no more, for I tremble in all my limbs: the effort was too great." Beyond Genappe the pursuit continued. "It was a fox-hunt," said Gneisenau, "a fox-hunt by moonlight." Gneisenau halted his troops at an inn which bore the sign "A l'Empereur," meaning, of course, the Emperor of Austria, a little beyond Frasnes.

Napoleon arrived at Quatre Bras at 1 a.m. He hoped to have found there the division of Gérard, but was disappointed. He walked to a bivouac of the Guard in the wood of Bossu, and stood by the fire, his arms crossed on his breast, like a statue, his eyes fixed on Waterloo. He sent a despatch to Grouchy, ordering him to retire on the lower Sambre. He then tried to discover some unbroken regiment, to make a nucleus of resistance. When he could not, he wept, with his face pale as wax. At length he remounted his horse and rode to Charleroi by way of Gosselies and Lodelinsart, arriving there at 5 a.m. After an hour's rest he rode to Philippeville, which he reached at 9 a.m. Here he sent orders to Grouchy to retreat on Philippeville or Givet. He also wrote two letters to Joseph, telling him of his disaster and announcing his immediate return to Paris. The first was public, to be read at the Council of Ministers. The second, which was private, ended thus: "Everything is not lost. On collecting my forces, the depôts, the National Guards, I shall have 300,000 men to oppose to the enemy. But I need assistance. I hope that the deputies will under-

stand their duty, and join me to save France." He then dictated the bulletin of Ligny and Mont St. Jean for the ministers, and, leaving Soult at Philippeville, drove off to Paris. He arrived at Laon at about 6.30 p.m. on the evening of June 20. He was seen in the courtyard of the hotel walking up and down, his head bowed, his arms crossed on his breast. After four hours' stay he left for Paris. It has been said that Napoleon abandoned his army, as in Egypt and in Russia. But he had no army; of Grouchy he knew nothing, and could not assist him. Of the 74,000 who fought at Waterloo perhaps 40,000 were safe and sound over the Sambre; but more than three-fourths of these men were still dispersed between Cambrai and Rocroi, travelling along the roads separately or in little groups, bivouacking in woods, staying with peasants. On June 20, when Napoleon left Laon for Paris, he had 2600 soldiers at Philippeville, and about 6000 at Avesnes. This was everything that could be called an army.

We must now follow the fortunes of Grouchy. From Walhain, where we left him, he marched by Nil St. Vincent and Dion le Mont towards Wavre. At about 3.30 in the afternoon he received the despatch of the Emperor, dated Le Caillou, 10 a.m., of which we have already spoken. The despatch seemed to confirm him in his march towards Wavre, although he knew that a great battle was proceeding on the edge of the forest of Soignies. At length he arrived at Wavre, which was held by Thielmann, and he spent great efforts in trying to gain possession of that little town. At about 5 p.m. he received the despatch which Soult had sent from the field of battle at 1.30 p.m. It ended with these words: "At this moment the battle is engaged on the line of Waterloo, in front of the forest of Soignies. We think that we see Bülow on the heights of St. Lambert. Do not lose a moment in coming to us and crushing Bülow." The despatch was written in pencil, and

was difficult to read. Grouchy misunderstood it, and read "la bataille est *gagnée* " instead of " la bataille est *engagée*." He was mad with joy, but he might have reflected that if the battle was won at 1.30 p.m. the cannon would not be firing at 5 p.m. Leaving Vandamme to complete the capture of Wavre, Grouchy proceeded to Limale, which he reached at nightfall. The road was now open to Mont St. Jean, which was about eight miles distant; but he could no longer hear the cannon of the Emperor.

The French now bivouacked in squares quite close to the enemy, who occupied the wood of Rixensart. At 11.30 p.m. Grouchy wrote to Vandamme to march to Limale. He still believed that Napoleon had won the battle, and counted on reaching Brussels the next morning. At daybreak he had an engagement with Thielmann, and was left in possession of the field of battle, and was preparing to march on Brussels at 10.30 a.m. when a staff-officer approached him, who gave an account of the disaster of Waterloo in such an incoherent manner that Grouchy thought he must have to do with a madman or a drunkard. Grouchy at last comprehended how terribly he had been deceived, and took steps to save what could be saved of the army.

He called his officers together, and announced the terrible news with tears in his eyes. He excused himself for his conduct of the day before, saying that the Emperor had especially charged him to march on Wavre. Vandamme advised the bold course of marching on Brussels, setting free the prisoners, and regaining the frontier at Valenciennes or Lille by Enghien or Ath. Vandamme thought that on this side they would meet with little resistance. Grouchy preferred to retreat by Namur, Dinant, and Givet, and he was right. It was necessary to make haste in order to escape Thielmann and possibly Blücher. The retreat began at 11.30, Exelmans galloped on to Namur, where he arrived at 4 p.m. The main body of the army

bivouacked for the night at Temploux, about six miles beyond Gembloux. Pajol formed the rear-guard and protected the retreat. The operation was effected without firing a shot. Next day Grouchy was placed in considerable danger by the precipitancy of Vandamme, who withdrew his troops from Namur too soon. The inhabitants of that town treated the French with great generosity, but it was necessary to defend the fortress against the attacks of the Prussians whilst Grouchy's main army reached Dinant. The following day, June 21, the French frontier was passed, and by the evening the whole of the army was collected in safety under the guns of Givet. Colonel Chesney calls this march "one of the most astonishing retreats of modern military history." It certainly does great credit to Grouchy. He did not despair when all hope seemed lost, and he acted with decision and rapidity, and saved his army.

Note.—In any account of Waterloo the conversation of Creevy with Wellington on the morning of June 19 should not be omitted.

"The first thing I did, of course, was to put out my hand and congratulate him upon his victory. He made a variety of observations in his short, natural, blunt way, but with the greatest gravity all the time, and without the least approach to anything like triumph or joy. 'It has been a damned serious business,' he said. 'Blücher and I have lost 30,000 men. It has been a damned nice thing—the nearest run thing you ever saw in your life. Blücher lost 14,000 on Friday night, and got so damnably licked I could not find him on Saturday morning; so I was obliged to fall back to keep up my communications with him.' Then, as we walked about, he praised greatly those Guards who had kept the farm against the repeated attacks of the French, and then he praised all our troops, uttering repeated expressions of astonishment at our men's courage. He repeated so often its being *so nice a thing—so nearly run a thing*, that I asked him if the French had fought better than he had ever seen them do before. 'No,' he said, 'they have always fought the same since I first saw them at Vimeira.' Then he said: 'By God! I don't think it would have done if I had not been there.'"—*The Creevy Papers*, p. 236.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ABDICATION

NAPOLEON reached the Elysée at eight o'clock on the morning of June 21. He was accompanied by Bertrand, and his aides-de-camp, Corbineau, Gourgaud, and La Bédoyère. Caulaincourt, his censor in prosperity, his friend in adversity, received him as he got out of the carriage. He seemed sinking under grief and fatigue. His chest was labouring, his respiration difficult, his face was as pale as wax, his eyes had lost their fire. After a painful sigh, he said, "The army performed prodigies, a panic-terror seized it, all was lost. Ney conducted himself like a madman; he got my cavalry massacred for me. I can say no more. I must have two hours' rest to enable me to set about business. I am choking here," and he laid his hand upon his heart. He gave orders for a bath to be prepared for him, and after a few moments' silence continued, "Three times victory escaped my grasp. I should have surprised the enemy if it had not been for treachery; I should have crushed them at Ligny if the right had done its duty; at Mont St. Jean if the left had done theirs. But all is not lost. I will assemble the two Chambers in an Imperial sitting. I will describe to them the misfortunes of the army. I will demand from them the means of saving their country. After that I will set out again."

"Sire," answered the Duke de Vicence, "the news of your disaster has already transpired. Men's minds are in

great agitation. The feelings of the deputies appear more hostile than ever, and it is my duty to say that it is to be feared that the Chamber will not act according to your expectations. I am sorry, sire, to see you in Paris. It would have been better for you not to have separated from your army. That constitutes your strength, your safety."

"I have no longer an army," replied the Emperor. "I have nothing but fugitives. I shall find men, but how are they to be armed? I have no muskets left. However, with unanimity, everything may be repaired. I hope the deputies will second me, that they will feel the responsibility that will rest upon them. I think you have formed a wrong judgment of their spirit. The majority is good. It is French. I have against me only Lafayette, Lanjuinais, and a few others. These would fain have nothing to do with me, I know. I am a restraint upon them. They would work for themselves. I will not allow them. My presence here will control them." He then went to his bath. Davout entered. He lifted up his arms and let them fall on the water, splashing the marshal's uniform. Davout strongly advised him to prorogue the Chambers, who would spoil everything. At this moment Joseph and Lucien arrived. They confirmed Caulaincourt's opinion about the disposition of the Chamber, and advised the Emperor to put off the calling of an Imperial session, and to allow his ministers to act first. While the Emperor was in the bath the ministers and great officers of the state hastened to the Elysèe, and eagerly questioned the officers who were returning from the battlefield. The general idea was that it was all over with Napoleon, and that he had no other means of saving France except by abdication. When the Emperor had recovered from his fatigue, he assembled his Council. There were present besides Joseph and Lucien, Bassano, Cambacérès, Caulaincourt, Carnot, Gaudin, Mollien, Davoust, Decrès, Fouché, and five others. He began with a statement of the situation. "Our misfortunes are great

I am come to repair them, to impress on the nation, on the army, a great and noble devotion. If the nation wakes up, the enemy will be crushed. To save the country it is necessary that I should be invested with great power, and with a temporary dictatorship." The ministers hung down their heads, and made no answer. Carnot advised to declare the country in danger, to call the National Guards to arms, to place Paris in a state of siege, and to defend it, even if it were necessary to retire behind the Loire. Caulaincourt was of opinion that the nation must make a grand effort to preserve its independence. Davout urged strongly the policy of proroguing the Chambers, which was strictly legal, saying that in a time of crisis it was fatal to have two powers in the government. Fouché, full of his treacherous designs, said that the Chambers might be induced to join with the Emperor, and that Paris was very quiet, but Decrès believed that to be impossible. Regnault went so far as to suggest that if the Emperor did not abdicate of his own accord, the Chamber would ask for his abdication.

Lucien, Prince of Canino, who had been for a long time on bad terms with his brother, showed an heroic front at this crisis. He said that if the Chambers would not join the Emperor in saving France, he must save it by himself. He must declare himself dictator, place France in a state of siege, and call to his defence all patriots and all good Frenchmen. Carnot, speaking again, agreed with this advice, and said that the Emperor should be invested with a great and imposing authority. The Emperor then said, "I hope that the presence of the enemy in the territory of France will recall the deputies to a feeling of their duty. The nation elected them, not to overthrow me, but to support me. I am not afraid of them; whatever they may do, I am the idol of the nation and of the army. If I said a word they would be destroyed. But if we quarrel we shall perish like the Lower Empire of Rome." He then pro-

ceeded to sketch the military resources of France. "She has more potential military strength than any nation in the world, and the Chamber talks of my abdicating! If I abdicate, you will have no army. I am not the pretext of war as they declare. France is the object of their attack. You might have opposed me when I landed at Cannes, but now that I am a part of that which the enemy is attacking, I am part of that which France ought to defend. If I am deposed, it is not for love of liberty, but from fear." Fouché was terrified at the effect of the speech. He said to a friend, "Ah! he made me afraid this morning; while I listened to him, I thought that he was going to begin over again. But happily that is impossible."

The Emperor was engaged in sketching the manner in which he proposed to meet the danger, when the Council was interrupted by a message from the Chamber, to the following effect. The independence of the nation was threatened, the Chamber declared itself in a state of permanence; any attempt to dissolve it would be a crime of high treason; whoever should be guilty of such an attempt should be considered a traitor to his country, and immediately condemned as such. The Ministers of War, of Foreign Affairs, and of the Interior were summoned to repair immediately to the Assembly. These resolutions had been passed on the proposal of Lafayette. They were an infringement of the constitution, a usurpation of sovereign authority. The Emperor said, "I was right in thinking that I ought to have dismissed those fellows before I departed. They are on the point of ruining France." He might have gone at once to the Chambers and dissolved them, but his spirit was broken. As the sitting broke up, he said, "I see Regnault did not deceive me. If it must be so, I will abdicate." These last words were most unfortunate, as they strengthened the enemies of Napoleon, and gave them hopes. He sent Regnault to the Chamber of Deputies and Carnot to the

Peers, and at the same time he ordered his ministers to remain. But at six o'clock in the evening they were summoned to the Chamber, with Lucien at their head. We need not follow the debate in the House, and the noble conduct of Lucien in the defence of his brother. When Lucien returned to the Elysée, he told Napoleon that it was impossible to control the Chamber, and that there was no alternative between dissolving it immediately, or submitting to an abdication. Caulaincourt and Maret suggested to Napoleon that he must submit, that if he hesitated the Chamber would undoubtedly depose him, and that he might not have it in his power to abdicate in favour of his son. Napoleon's only remark was, "They dare not." Lucien was horrified at his brother's indecision. He said, "He hesitates! He temporises! He is lost! The smoke of the batteries of Mont St. Jean has got into his head." So ended the day of June 21.

At eleven at night the Committees of the Chambers, the ministers, and the delegates of the Chamber, met in the presence of Lucien. It was decided, by sixteen to five, to negotiate with the allied Powers, but to continue resistance. Lafayette clamoured for the abdication of the Emperor, but Lucien declared that, while the Emperor was ready to make any sacrifice, the time for this desperate measure had not yet arrived. They at length broke up from weariness at three o'clock in the morning. During the night Lucien again tried to force his brother to adopt strong measures. He urged him to go to the Tuileries, to collect all the troops on which he could lay his hands, to call together the ministers and the Council of State, and to prorogue the Chambers, who might protest, but would not resist. The Emperor would decide nothing. He listened with a distracted air, sometimes sitting, sometimes standing or walking about. He criticized the opinions of others without pronouncing his own, but in this way he lost a great deal of authority.

On the following morning, June 22, the Chambers met at 9.30 a.m., and anxiously awaited a message from the Emperor. Regnault told his sovereign, "The Chamber seems inclined to pronounce his deposition if he does not abdicate immediately." The Emperor said indignantly, "Since this is the case, I will not abdicate. The Chamber is composed of Jacobins, fanatics, and ambitious men, who thirst after place and disorder. I ought to have denounced them to the nation, and expelled them." It was not until the afternoon that the Chamber received a message that "a reply might be expected in a few hours." For this they could not wait. A member moved "That the Emperor should be requested, in the name of the safety of the State, to announce his abdication." And another member proposed to send a deputation to him "to express the urgency of a decision." Lafayette exclaimed "that if Napoleon did not decide, he would move his abdication," and a crowd of members insisted that Napoleon should be compelled to abdicate immediately. But at length it was agreed that, in order to save the honour of the head of the State, an hour's grace should be given, and the sitting was suspended. Accounts of what was passing were being continually received at the Elysée. At length Lucien himself gave way, and Joseph supported his advice, but the Emperor was the last to yield. At last, in a solemn tone of voice he said to his brother, "Prince Lucien, write." Then turning to Fouché he added ironically, "Write to those gentlemen to make themselves easy. They shall soon be satisfied." Lucien took up a pen, but after the first words dictated by the Emperor, he dashed his pen upon the table, leapt up and walked to the door. The Emperor commanded him to remain, and in a silence which was only broken by the shouts of the crowd in the Champs Elysées, crying, "Vive l'Empereur!" he wrote at his brother's dictation the following declaration :—

"In commencing a war to maintain the independence of

the nation, I reckoned on the joint efforts of all, the unanimity of all, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. From these I had reason to hope for success. Circumstances are now changed. I offer myself up as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France. May they prove themselves sincere in their declaration, and show that they really aim at me personally alone! Unite, all of you, for the public safety, so that you may remain an independent nation." On the observation that he had left his throne to the Bourbons, he added these words: "I proclaim my son, under the name of Napoleon II, Emperor of the French. The princes Joseph and Lucien will form personally the Council of Government. The interest which I feel in my son induces me to ask the Chamber to organize without delay the regency, by a law." At the suggestion of Carnot he obliterated the names of Joseph and Lucien. Fleury de Chaboulon made two copies of the document. Napoleon, on signing them, saw that Fleury had dropped a tear on the paper. He thanked him by a priceless smile.

When the deputies had received the abdication, they sent to thank Napoleon for what he had done, and he replied in these words: "I thank you for the sentiments you express towards me. I desire that my abdication may procure the happiness of France, but I have no expectation of it. It leaves the State without a head, without political existence. The time wasted in overturning the monarchy might have been employed in putting France in a condition to crush the enemy. I recommend the Chamber speedily to reinforce the armies. Whoever is desirous of peace ought to prepare for war. Do not leave this great nation at the mercy of foreigners. Be on your guard against being deceived by your hopes. There lies the danger. In whatever situation I may find myself, I shall always be at ease, if France be happy. I commend my son to France. I hope it will not forget that I abdicated

only for him. I have made this great sacrifice also for the nation. It is only with my dynasty that it can expect to be free, happy and independent." At this answer all present were deeply affected, and Lanjuinais could not refrain from tears.

On the morning of June 23, Fouché was elected President of the Commission of Regency. Before this he had liberated Vitrolles from prison and negotiated with him about the restoration of Louis XVIII. Shortly after this, a half-hearted motion was passed by the Chamber proclaiming Napoleon II, but leaving the door open both for the Duke of Orléans and for Louis XVIII. At the Elysée Napoleon's first idea was to seek the hospitality of England, but at the representations of Queen Hortense, Maret and Flahaut he determined to go to America. Bertrand, Savary, Meneval, Montholon, and Las Cases, were ready to accompany him. He knew that two frigates, the Saale and the Méduse, were ready for sailing at Rochefort, and in the evening he wrote to Decrès, the Minister of Marine, asking that these might be placed at his disposition. Decrès said that he must refer the matter to the commission of government. Fouché was not the man to give this permission without consideration. Napoleon had intended to stay at the Elysée until he left for Rochefort, but Fouché was equally unwilling that the Emperor should set sail or that he should stay in Paris. The popular demonstrations in favour of Napoleon continued and indeed increased in violence. Crowds of men marched along the streets crying "Vive Napoleon II! Vive l'Empereur! Death to the royalists! Arms! Arms!" Napoleon would not support these movements. To a deputation which entered the court of the Elysée and demanded arms for the defence of the Emperor, he said, "You shall have arms, but you must use them against the enemy." As he was walking in the garden, a young man jumped across the ha-ha and threw himself at his feet, begging him to place himself at the head of the army.

Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A., pinxt. [*W. Bromley, A.E.R.A., fecit.*

THE DUKE OF REICHSTADT

The Emperor treated him with tenderness, pinched his ear, and ordered him to rejoin his regiment. Fouché gave money to the mob to bribe them not to shout "Vive l'Empereur!" They pocketed the money and shouted all the louder. Fouché sent Davout to Napoleon to beg him to retire from the Elysée. Davout wrote of this meeting, "the interview had been cold, the parting was colder still." Napoleon said to him, referring to the shouts beyond the garden, "You hear their cries! If I place myself at the head of the people, who know by instinct the true necessities of the country, I should soon have done with all those men, who never dared to oppose me until they saw that I was without defence. They want me to go. This will not cost more than the rest." At dinner Napoleon said to Queen Hortense, "I wish to go to Malmaison. It belongs to you. Will you give me hospitality?" The queen left that evening to prepare the house for his reception. Fouché tried to frighten him. At night he doubled the guard of the palace. Early the next morning he was visited by Carnot, who found him burning papers which might compromise the writers. The interview was very cordial. Carnot said, "Do not go to England; you have irritated them too much against you; you will be insulted by the boxers. Go to America." Orders had been given to leave at midday. When the carriage, with its six horses, aides-de-camp and escort appeared, a crowd gathered in the street, shouting, "Vive l'Empereur! Vive l'Empereur! Do not abandon us." Napoleon left by the garden gate, where he found a simple carriage belonging to Bertrand, and did not enter his coach till it had passed the barrier of Chaillot.

Fouché heard of this departure as he was presiding at the commission of government. He was not satisfied, and sent General Beker to command Napoleon's guard at Malmaison. Beker begged Davout to excuse him, but he could effect nothing. His orders ran as follows: "The

honour of France commands that we should watch over the safety of the Emperor Napoleon: the interests of the country require that we should prevent ill-disposed persons from using his name to cause disturbance." Napoleon was at once a prisoner and a hostage.

At the Malmaison Napoleon was accompanied by Bertrand, Gourgaud, Montholon, and Las Cases. The garrison was composed of 300 grenadiers and chasseurs of the Old Guard at Rueil, and by a picquet of the dragoons of the Guard. He received a number of visitors, Joseph, Lucien, Jerome, Maret, Lavalette, Savary, La Bédoyère, and others, not least important the banker Jacques Lafitte, who had the administration of his private fortune. To him he said, "The Powers are not making war, exactly, against me, but against the Revolution. They have always regarded me as the representative, the man of the Revolution."

Soon after his arrival he addressed a farewell to the army: "Soldiers, I will follow your steps, although absent. I know all your regiments, and none of them will gain a signal advantage over the enemy without my doing justice to the courage it has shown. You and I, we have both been calumniated. Men unworthy of appreciating your labours have seen in the signs of attachment which you have given me a zeal of which I alone was the object. May your future successes teach them that you served your country above everything else in obeying me. Save the honour, the independence of the French. Napoleon will recognize you by the blows which you inflict." This stirring and patriotic appeal was signed Napoleon 1er. It was sent to Fouché, who put it away in a drawer, and conveniently forgot it.

In the evening Beker arrived. Napoleon knew perfectly well with what object he had been sent. He received him with dignity, and said, "I regard this act as an affair of form, and not a measure of precaution. It was useless to

subject me to it, because I have no intention of breaking my engagements." He then softened towards him and said that he could not have chosen a better officer for the post than Beker. Some of his remarks made at this time are interesting. "How could I depend upon a nation who are placed at the discretion of the enemy by the loss of a single battle?" "If I had been chosen by the English as I have been chosen by the French, I might have lost the battle of Waterloo without losing a single vote in Parliament." His conversation with Beker lasted all through the night, to the early hours of the morning. Everything at Malmaison reminded him of his life there with Josephine, of the brilliant days of the Consulate. Walking in the park with Queen Hortense, and standing before a cluster of rose trees in full bloom, he said, "Poor Josephine, I cannot accustom myself to live here without her. I seem always to see her, coming out of an alley and plucking one of the flowers which she loved so well. She was the most graceful woman I have ever known."

Napoleon had asked for a passport to embark at Rochefort for America on June 23, 24, or 25. Fouché transmitted the request to Wellington. On that day Wellington wrote to Charles Stewart: "You will have heard of our great victory of the 18th, which appears to have settled Bony"; and on the following day at 10 p.m. he replied to the French Commissioners that "he did not consider the abdication of Napoleon Buonaparte of his usurped authority, under all the circumstances which have preceded and attended that measure, as the attainment of the object held up in the declarations and treaties of the allies, which should induce them to lay down their arms." On June 26 the provisional government agreed that the two frigates at Rochefort should be got ready for the transport of the Emperor, that he should have an escort under General Beker as far as that port, but that the frigates should not set sail till the passport had arrived. Fouché probably

thought that this arrangement would have the double advantage of removing Napoleon from Paris and keeping him prisoner at Rochefort. Napoleon saw the trap, and refused to go to Rochefort unless he were allowed to sail as soon as he arrived there. He asked Savary and Lavalette to obtain this for him. Lavalette found Decrès in bed, who advised him to speak to Fouché and bade him "Good night." Savary met Fouché, and received from him a promise that the permission should be given the next morning. This promise was kept on the morning of June 27. Decrès was authorized to inform Napoleon that the ships might leave as soon as he arrived at Rochefort, but in the afternoon this was revoked, and Fouché informed Decrès that the ships must wait in the roadstead until the passport arrived. This was due to a letter received from the French commissioners at Laon, which reported, on the authority of Blücher's aides-de-camp, that the allies would not make peace unless the person of Napoleon was secured. Indeed, on June 28 Wellington wrote to the commissioners: "The Field Marshal has no authority from his Government or from the allies to give any answer to the demands of a passport and assurance of safety for Napoleon Buonaparte or his family to pass to the United States of America." On the same day Wellington wrote to Stewart: "General Sebastiani has been here this day to negotiate for Napoleon's passing to America, to which proposition I have answered that I have no authority. The Prussians think the Jacobins wish to give him over to me, believing that I will save his life. Blücher wishes to kill him, but I have told him that I shall remonstrate, and shall insist upon his being disposed of by common accord. I have likewise said that, as a great friend, I advised him to have nothing to do with so foul a transaction; that he and I had acted too distinguished parts in these transactions to become executioners; and that I was determined that if the sovereigns

wished to put him to death, they should appoint an executioner who should not be me." Castlereagh also wrote to Otto: "I am commanded to inform you that the English Government does not consider that it can allow itself to grant passports to Napoleon Buonaparte."

There can be no doubt that the allied Powers were clearly contemplating the capture and imprisonment of Napoleon, or worse. On June 22 Metternich wrote to his daughter: "They have caught Napoleon's hat; let us hope that we shall end by capturing the man himself." On July 1 the commissioners of Austria, Russia, and Prussia signed a declaration which said: "The three sovereigns consider it is a condition preliminary and essential to any peace and to a real state of rest that Napoleon Buonaparte should be rendered incapable of henceforth disturbing the tranquillity of France and of Europe, after what has happened." The opinions of Lord Liverpool on this subject are so dishonourable to an English Prime Minister as to be scarcely credible. He writes to Lord Castlereagh on July 7: "I conclude the Emperor and King will come to Paris as soon as they hear of the capitulation. By that time we shall be able to form some judgment of the probable fate of Buonaparte. If he sails from either Rochefort or Cherbourg, we have a good chance of laying hold of him. If we take him we shall keep him on board ship till the opinion of the allies has been taken. The most easy manner would be to deliver him up to the King of France, who might try him as a rebel; but then we must be quite certain that he would be tried in such a manner as to have no chance of escape. Indeed, nothing could really be necessary except the identification of his person. I have had some conversation with the civilians [presumably the law officers of the Crown], and they are of opinion that this would in all respects be the least objectionable course. We should have a right to consider him a French prisoner, and as such to give him up to the French Government.

They think likewise that the King of France would have a clear right to consider him as a rebel and to deal with him accordingly." Blücher wrote to his wife that he desired that Napoleon should be executed before the heads of the columns of the Prussian army, "to render service to humanity." We learn from a letter of Wellington to Lord Bathurst that the French commissioners said that they had every reason to believe that Napoleon had left Paris, and if he had not, various schemes were proposed in order to get rid of him, of which one was to send him to England, and the other to hand him over to his father-in-law, the Emperor of Austria.

On June 27, Fouché wrote to Davout that it was necessary that Napoleon should leave Malmaison and go to Rochefort. For this purpose, and to prevent his escape, additional troops were to be sent there. Davout wrote a corresponding despatch to Beker. On the other hand, Napoleon determined to remain at Malmaison, because he would be a prisoner at Rochefort, it being certain that the passport would be refused. "I am resolved to receive my sentence here. I shall remain here until Wellington has determined what my fate is to be." When they represented to him the danger of delay, he replied, "What have I to fear? I am under the protection of French honour." He said, however, to Queen Hortense, "I have nothing to fear here; but you, my daughter, go away and leave me." On the morning of June 28 Napoleon sent Flahaut to the commisssioners of government to ask that the frigates might set sail without waiting for the passports, and that if this were not done, the Emperor would not leave the Malmaison. Davout, leaning up against the fireplace, said to him, "Return to the Emperor and tell him to go, his presence embarrasses me; he is an obstacle to every arrangement; the safety of the country demands his departure. Let him leave at once. If not, we shall be compelled to arrest him. I will arrest him

myself." Flahaut looked at him with stern dignity, and replied, "Marshal, only he who gives this order can be the bearer of it. I will have nothing to do with it. If I must resign my commission for disobeying you, I resign it." When Flahaut reluctantly reported this conversation to Napoleon, the Emperor said, "Well, let him come!" Napoleon began to make arrangements for his departure, and confided considerable sums of money to the banker Lafitte.

On this same Wednesday his mother and Cardinal Fesch came to visit him, as well as the Countess Walewska, all in tears; also Joseph, Maret, Savary, La Bédoyère, Talma, and the traitor Corvisart, who brought him some poison to use in case of need. When alone he buried himself in the American journeys of Alexander von Humboldt. He contemplated exploring the whole of both Americas, from Canada to Cape Horn. Just then the sound of cannon was heard. He spread out his maps and worked out the positions of the French and the Prussians with coloured pins. Towards evening he learned that the Prussians were approaching. The bridges across the Seine were destroyed. This alone prevented Blücher from seizing the person of Napoleon, which would probably have meant death. The French government also feared lest Napoleon should place himself at the head of the army, or should be clamoured for by them. Therefore at 9 p.m. on the same day he wrote to Decrès that the frigates were placed at his disposal, and that there was now no obstacle to his departure. Decrès reached the Malmaison on Thursday, at daybreak. The Emperor received him in his dressing-gown, while he communicated the order of Fouché. He urged him to leave as soon as possible, and Napoleon promised to depart during the day.

At 9 a.m. Napoleon held a conference with Maret, Lavalette, Joseph, and Flahaut, and announced his departure. Lavalette informed him that the remains of his

defeated army, Drouet d'Erlon, Reille, Labare, Grouchy, and Vandamme, were returning to Paris, and that a conflict with the Prussians was imminent. At the same time he heard from the high road, loud cries of "Vive l'Empereur." He examined his maps, raised his hand and said with gleaming eyes, "France must not be subdued by a handful of Prussians. I can stop the enemy, give the government time to negotiate with the Powers, and then go to America to accomplish my destiny." He went up to his bedroom by a secret staircase, and came back dressed in uniform. He besought Beker to go to the commission of government to offer his services, not as Emperor, but as general, with the solemn promise that he would leave for America the very day when he repulsed the enemy. Beker undertook the commission and with difficulty reached the Tuileries. But Fouché cried out in anger, "Is he laughing at us? We know how he would keep his promise! How did you dare to leave the Emperor? Go back and tell him that his offer cannot be accepted. All hope of negotiation would be at an end. He must leave at once for Rochefort." Carnot was half inclined to accept, but he was dominated by Fouché. On his return he found everything prepared for action. The Emperor was in his study. When he heard of the refusal he said, "These people do not understand public opinion. They will repent of having refused my offer. Did you not repeat to them my message and my oath?" "Yes, sire." "Then nothing remains but to go away. Give the orders, and when everything is ready, let me know." He said to Hortense, "They are still afraid of me. I wished to make a last effort for the salvation of France, but they would not have it."

The Emperor went up to his bedroom, took off his uniform and sword and put on a brown coat and a round hat. He opened the door of the room in which Josephine had died, and remained there alone for some time. He bade a last adieu to Joseph and to Hortense, who gave him a

diamond necklace worth £8000, which she sewed up in his belt. He took an affecting leave of his weeping officers. The Imperial carriages came into the courtyard. A yellow chaise with four horses stood at the postern of the park. A little before five o'clock Napoleon kissed Hortense for the last time, went into the garden, and reached the postern gate. He jumped into the carriage. Bertrand sat by his side, Savary and Beker opposite to him. The horses set off at a good pace, but not a word was spoken till they reached Rambouillet.

Authorities.—The first draft of this chapter was written before Houssaye's fourth volume appeared, but it has been carefully studied. The history of Napoleon between Waterloo and St. Helena still needs elucidation. The recent work of M. Silvestre has been found of great service.

CHAPTER XIX

THE CAPTIVITY

NAPOLEON had not intended to stay long at Rambouillet, but after supper, feeling himself unwell, he slept there, and left early the next morning. The carriage passed through Tours at midnight. Here he had ten minutes' conversation with the préfet, the Comte de Miramar, who had formerly been his chamberlain. He was anxious to discover if Fouché had sent any of his myrmidons to lay a trap for him. The heat was most oppressive, and a halt of two hours was made at Poitiers. Niort was reached at 10 p.m. on July 1. Here he slept at an inn, the Boule d'or. On the next day, which was Sunday, he was informed that Rochefort was strictly blockaded by an English squadron. This squadron, under the command of Admiral Hotham, consisted of two ships of the line, the Superb and the Bellerophon, three frigates, the Eridanus, the Endymion, and the Pactolus, and a dozen smaller vessels. They cruised over a considerable distance, of at least 250 miles from Arcachon to Brest. The only vessel of any consequence which guarded the entrance to Rochefort was the Bellerophon, so that the report made by Bonnefoux was exaggerated. Joseph, Gourgaud, and Lallemand joined him at Niort. He left this town at four in the morning. The streets were full of people, who shouted "Vive l'Empereur!" "Stay here! stay here!" Similar demonstrations took place in every village through which he passed.

At Rochefort, Decrès had given orders to Bonnefoux that the frigates Saale and Méduse were to be ready to sail twelve hours after the arrival of the Emperor, and were to start if the strict watch of the English cruisers should allow this without compromising the frigates. If they were attacked at sea, the frigate on which Napoleon was not embarked was to sacrifice herself in order to allow the other to escape. When Napoleon arrived on Monday, July 3, at 8 p.m., everything was ready for departure, and Napoleon wished to go on board at once. But Bonnefoux, who was a weak-minded man, said that the passage was blockaded and the wind contrary. It was suggested by Admiral Martin that the Emperor should go to Ragon, a harbour at the mouth of the Gironde, where he would find a corvette, the Bayadère, commanded by Captain Baudin. Martin said, "I know Baudin; he is the only man capable of conveying the Emperor safe and sound to America." Baudin agreed, and Napoleon at first approved; but he came to the conclusion that such a step would be unworthy of his dignity and his past history. On the other hand, he was governed by the idea, which had always haunted him, that the noblest course of action would be to surrender to the English. He determined to stay at Rochefort to await the arrival of Joseph, and the carriages which he was to take with him to America. Joseph came on July 5. By Friday, July 7, the whole of his suite had arrived. It included Montholon, Madame Montholon and her son, Las Cases and his son, besides cooks, men-servants, ladies'-maids—in all sixty-four persons. The population acclaimed him with enthusiasm. The Comte d'Artois was informed that he was greeted like a god.

On the evening of that day Beker received a despatch from the commission of government at Paris, that Napoleon was to embark without delay, that force was to be employed if necessary, and that he was not to be allowed to communicate with the English squadron. The next morning Beker

saw the Emperor and begged him to embark. After some conversation, he consented to go to the Ile d'Aix, where he would be close to the frigate, and be able to go on board when the wind was favourable. At 4 p.m. he left the préfecture, driving from a garden postern, as he had done at the Malmaison. He was carried to a boat on a man's back, the sailors and fishermen weeping like children, who took leave of him with a last deep shout of "Vive l'Empereur!" The sea being rough, he would not go to the Ile d'Aix, but made straight for the frigate, which was reached in an hour and an half. Napoleon was received on board the Saale with Imperial military honours, but no salute was fired. A friendly hand has engraved on the little jetty of Fouras, the word "Napoleon."

On Sunday, July 9, a feeble wind blew in the wrong direction, and the masts of the Bellerophon and the other vessels were visible off the Ile d'Oléron. Napoleon watched them for some time through his glass. He then expressed a desire to visit the Ile d'Aix. At 5.30 he stepped into a boat, accompanied by Gourgaud, Las Cases, Beker, and some other officers. He wore a civilian's dress, a green coat and white waistcoat, nankeen breeches, and a round hat, without decorations. He visited the fortifications which he had built in 1808, and on his return to the harbour reviewed the 14th regiment of marines, who received him with enthusiasm. He returned to the Saale at nine o'clock for breakfast. At ten, Bonnefoux brought to Beker some new orders from Decrès with regard to the disposal of the Emperor. He was to hasten as far as possible the departure of the two frigates who were to take Napoleon to America. But if this was rendered impossible by the wind in the presence of the enemy, he was to embark on board a despatch boat, provided he left within twenty-four hours. If Napoleon preferred to go on board an English cruiser, he was to be allowed to do so, but he must express his desire in writing. In no case was he to be landed on any point of the French coast.

Napoleon had now definitely determined to seek hospitality in England, an idea which had been present to his mind for a long time. Therefore, as soon as he received the permission of the government, he sent Savary and Las Cases at 2 a.m. on Monday, July 10, to the Bellerophon, Captain Maitland, bearing a letter from Bertrand the Grand Marshal in the following terms: "The Emperor Napoleon, having abdicated the throne of France and chosen the United States of America as a retreat, is, with his suite, at present embarked on board the two frigates which are in this port, for the purpose of proceeding to his destination. He expects a passport from the British government, which has been promised to him, and which induces me to send the present flag of truce, to demand of you, sir, if you have any knowledge of the above-mentioned passport, or if you think it is the intention of the British government to throw any impediments in the way of our voyage to the United States. I shall feel much obliged by your giving me any information you may possess on the subject." In the ensuing narrative, we will quote Maitland's words as far as possible. He says: "The bearer of the letter had instructions to demand of me, whether I would prevent Buonaparte from proceeding in a neutral vessel, provided I could not permit the frigates to pass with him on board. Having received in my orders the strictest injunctions to secrecy, and feeling that the force on the coast, at my disposal, was insufficient to guard the different ports and passages from which an escape might be effected, particularly should the plan be adopted of putting to sea in a small vessel, I wrote the following reply to the above communication, hoping by that means to induce Napoleon to remain for the Admiral's answer, which would give time for the arrival of reinforcements." The letter said, that, the two countries being in a state of war, Maitland could not permit any ship of war to put to sea from Rochefort, and that he could not allow a merchant vessel to pass with

a passenger of such consequence without the consent of Admiral Hotham.

Savary and Las Cases, arriving at 7 a.m., remained on board the Bellerophon between two or three hours, during which time they had breakfast. Much of their conversation may be passed over, but when Savary remarked that Napoleon would prefer retiring into obscurity, where he might end his days in peace and tranquillity, and were he solicited to ascend the throne again, he would decline it, Maitland said, "If that is the case, why not ask an asylum in England?" Savary answered, "There are many reasons for his not wishing to reside in England: the climate is too damp and cold; it is too near France; he would be, as it were, the centre of every change and revolution that might take place there, and would be subject to suspicion. He has been accustomed to consider the English as his most inveterate enemies, and they have been induced to look upon him as a monster, without one of the virtues of a human being." It is not known what answer Maitland made to this very frank announcement. Savary and Las Cases returned to the Saale not very well satisfied.

It is necessary to consider how far, when Maitland suggested the hospitality of England, he was aware of the treatment which Napoleon would receive if he went there. Maitland said he was "quite ignorant of what had occurred in France further than the decisive victory obtained by the Duke of Wellington at Waterloo." This was false. On June 30 he had received an anonymous communication from Bordeaux saying that the Emperor had abdicated, that he had left Paris, and that he was trying to escape by sea. On July 1 he was informed that the frigates in Aix Roads had taken in their powder, and were in all respects ready to put to sea; also that several gentlemen in plain clothes and some ladies, supposed to form part of Bonaparte's suite, had arrived at Ile d'Aix; but there was little doubt of its being his intention to effect his escape.

Maitland therefore brought the Bellerophon as close as possible to the frigates, kept guard-boats rowing all night, and trained a hundred of the stoutest men to board the frigate in case of necessity. On July 7 he received an order from Hotham saying that it was believed that "Napoleon Buonaparte" had taken his road from Paris for Rochefort, to embark from there for the United States of America. Maitland was to use his best endeavours to prevent his making his escape in either of the frigates at the Ile d'Aix. On July 8 he was told that passports had been asked for and refused, that "taking Buonaparte" is the thing to be desired, that the admiral depends on Maitland's using the best means that can be adopted to intercept the fugitive, "on whose captivity the repose of Europe seems to depend," and concludes, "If he should be taken, he is to be brought to me in this bay, as I have orders for his disposal. He is to be removed from the ship in which he may be found to one of His Majesty's ships." The letter which Maitland received during the visit of the two emissaries contained orders from the British Admiralty, saying, "If you should be so fortunate as to intercept him, you are to transfer him and his family to the ship you command, and thus keeping him in careful custody, return to the nearest port in England (going into Torbay in preference to Plymouth) with all possible expedition, and on your arrival you are not to permit any communication whatever with the shore, except as hereinafter directed, and you will be held responsible for keeping the whole transaction a profound secret, until you receive their Lordships' further orders." There can, I am afraid, be little doubt that when Maitland suggested that Napoleon should seek an asylum in England, he knew that this asylum would mean captivity.

The Méduse was commanded by Captain Ponée. He came to Montholon, who was on board of her, and made a fresh proposition. It was that the Méduse should attack

the Bellerophon, and keep her employed for two hours, and that the Saale should escape in the meantime. Napoleon was touched by this act of devotion; but before he had time to give any decision, the captain of the Saale forbade any such enterprise. On July 11 arrived the news of the capitulation of Paris, at which Napoleon was profoundly affected. On the morning of the next day he left the Saale for the Ile d'Aix, to the despair of the crew. Ponée cried, "He does not know the English. Into what hands is he going to deliver himself? Poor Napoleon, you are lost!" Another plan was formed by six officers of marines to carry the Emperor and his suite off in two chasses-marées, to seize a merchant vessel, and make it take them to America. Napoleon listened to this as he did to others, for fear of hurting the feelings of their authors. But he had no real intention of assenting to it. He was the proudest of men, and his whole life shows that no one had a more abiding sense of self-respect. As Houssaye rightly points out, he saw clearly that only three courses would be worthy of him: to assume the command of the army in obedience to regular orders; to go on board the frigates with the honour due to Imperial rank; or to entrust himself to the generosity of England.

From time to time, however, the clear insight of Napoleon convinced him what his fate would be in England, and how disagreeable he would find it to spend his life amongst enemies. Joseph, who had remained at Rochefort, came to the island of Aix on July 13, and proposed to his brother to reach the banks of the Gironde and to embark on an American ship. Baudin was also willing to convey the Emperor on board his ship the Bayadère, or on an American vessel. This was given up, perhaps under the influence of Beker, and the scheme of the six marine officers was resumed. An objection to this was that the ladies and some of the suite must be left behind, and the frivolous and emotional Gourgaud was jealous, lest he should not

travel with the Emperor. We repeat the well-known story. Gourgaud reproached his master with not having the courage to make a complete sacrifice. Napoleon avowed that it would be the wisest course, but that the day before his resolution to live amongst his enemies had broken down. A little bird entered the port-hole. "Set it free," said the Emperor. "There is enough unhappiness in the world." As the bird flew away, Napoleon said, "Let us watch the augury." "Sire," cried Gourgaud, "it flies towards the English vessel."

Notwithstanding this, Napoleon had determined to embark either in the coasting vessel of the marine officers, or in a Danish vessel, during the night, and the luggage had been sent on board. After dinner Napoleon had retired to his study. Beker went upstairs and said to him, "Sire, everything is ready: the captain waits." Napoleon made no answer. Some time later Bertrand approached the Emperor. Napoleon said to him, "There is always danger in trusting yourself to your enemies, but it is better to run the risk of trusting to their honour, than to be a prisoner in their hands. Tell them that I will not go on board, and that I will pass the night here." It is vain to attempt to penetrate into the mysteries of that mighty soul. That night the famous letter to the Prince Regent of England was written.

On the morning of July 14 Las Cases and Lallemand went on board the Bellerophon. Las Cases asked whether Maitland had received an answer from the admiral, and was told that he had not. Las Cases then said that the Emperor was so anxious to spare the further effusion of human blood that he would proceed to America in any way the British government chose to sanction, either in a French ship of war, a vessel armed *en flûte*, a merchant vessel, or even in a British ship of war. Maitland expressed his belief that the British government would not agree to anything of this kind; that he might venture to

receive him into his ship and to convey him to England, but that he could not promise as to the reception he might meet with. This he repeated several times. Las Cases, on leaving the ship, said, "Under all circumstances, I have little doubt that you will see the Emperor on board the Bellerophon." They left the Bellerophon about half-past nine, and reached the Ile d'Aix about eleven. Houssaye, relying on a letter of Bertrand to Joseph, concludes that Maitland gave more reassuring accounts of the reception of Napoleon in England than Maitland admits in his narrative.

During the night Napoleon summoned his friends, and informed them of his intention to seek an asylum in England. Savary, Bertrand, Gourgaud, and Las Cases approved of this design. Montholon urged the Emperor to embark on board the Bayadère; Lallemand to seek safety on board the Danish ship, and to place himself at the head of the army of the Loire. Napoleon was not likely to take a step which might lead to a civil war. He then read to Gourgaud the draft of his letter to the Prince Regent, and Gourgaud shed tears on hearing it. He wished Gourgaud to go to London immediately, and to deliver the letter into the hands of the Prince Regent. He would like best to go to America; if not, to settle in England under the name of Colonel Muiron, in a country house about thirty miles from London. He did not object to an English commissioner living with him, provided that the arrangements made did not imply a condition of servitude. About 7 p.m. a boat came alongside the Bellerophon, bringing Las Cases and Gourgaud. They were the bearers of a letter from Bertrand, containing the statement that Napoleon would come on board the Bellerophon early on the following morning. It said also, "If the admiral, in consequence of the despatch you forwarded to him, should send the passport for the United States therein demanded, His Majesty will be happy to repair to America; but

should the passport be withheld, he will willingly proceed to England as a private individual, there to enjoy the protection of the laws of your country. His Majesty has despatched General Baron Gourgaud to the Prince Regent with a letter, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose, requesting that you will forward it to such one of the ministers as you may think it necessary to reach that general officer, that he may have the honour of delivering the letter with which he is charged to the Prince Regent." A list was also enclosed of Napoleon's suite, in all fifty persons, including servants.

The letter to the Prince Regent ran as follows: "Your Royal Highness,—Attacked by the factions which distract my country and by the enmity of the greatest Powers of Europe, I have terminated my political career, and I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself on the hearth of the British people. I place myself under the protection of its laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness as the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies."

Maitland told Las Cases that he would receive Napoleon on board, and would send Gourgaud to England by the Slaney with his despatches to the Admiralty, but that he would not be allowed to land until permission was received from London, or the sanction of the admiral at the port he might arrive at obtained. The letter would be presented to the Prince Regent by the minister. He then said: "Monsieur Las Cases, you will recollect that I am not authorized to stipulate as to the reception of Buonaparte in England, but that he must consider himself entirely at the disposal of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent." Maitland says that Las Cases answered, "I am perfectly aware of that, and have already acquainted the Emperor with what you said on the subject." Gourgaud was sent to England in the Slaney. A conversation arose about the ladies, with reference to which Maitland remarks: "I here,

once for all, beg to state most distinctly that from the time of his coming on board my ship to the period of his quitting her, his conduct was invariably that of a gentleman; and in no one instance do I recollect him to have made use of a rude expression, or to have been guilty of any kind of ill-breeding." During the night two messages reached Maitland that Napoleon had escaped, but after a conversation with Las Cases he put no faith in them.

On July 14 a mysterious circumstance occurred at Rochefort, which is thus related by Houssaye. In the morning, a certain Baron Richard, a friend of Fouché, appeared bringing despatches for Bonnefoux from Jaucourt, the new Minister of Marine. Bonnefoux was ordered to keep Napoleon on board the Saale, to prevent him from landing in France or having any communication with the English vessel. Apparently the design was to deliver Napoleon up as a prisoner to the English, in order to prevent him from enjoying any advantage he might obtain from a voluntary surrender. Bonnefoux temporized. He did not leave Rochefort till late in the evening, and went on board the Saale, although he knew that the Emperor was at the Ile d'Aix. When he learnt from the captain that the Emperor would leave for the Bellerophon at daybreak next morning, he did nothing to prevent him, but sent a message to Beker to hasten the proceedings, as new orders had arrived from Paris. Everything was, however, in readiness. The luggage was on board, and on July 15, at sunrise, Napoleon himself mounted the deck of the Epervier. For the first time since leaving the Malmaison he wore his customary uniform. Maitland gives us a description of him. He wore an olive-coloured great coat, over a green uniform, with scarlet cape and cuffs, green lapels turned back and edged with scarlet, skirts looped back with bugle horns embroidered in gold, plain sugar-loaf buttons, and gold epaulettes, being the uniform of the Chasseurs à Cheval of the Imperial Guard. He wore the

Star or Great Cross of the Legion of Honour, and the small Cross of that order, the Iron Cross and the Union attached to the button-hole of his left lapel. He had on a small cocked hat, with a tricolour cockade, plain gold-hilted sword, military boots, and white waistcoat and breeches. The sailors were drawn up on deck, shouting "Vive l'Empereur!" with tears in their eyes, and broken sobs in their throats. The lieutenant of the Saale whispered to the captain of the Epervier to make haste, as some attempt might be made to arrest the Emperor. "Not on board the Epervier," cried the captain; "at least, while I am alive." At the last moment Beker approached the Emperor, and asked whether he wished that he should accompany him on board the Bellerophon. He answered with dignity, "No, General Beker, it must not be said that France delivered me to the English."

Maitland tells us that at break of day on July 15, L'Epervier, French brig of war, was discovered under sail standing out towards the ship with a flag of truce up, and at the same time the Superb, bearing Sir Henry Hotham's flag, was seen in the offing. Maitland was afraid that the admiral would arrive before he had "terminated the affair which he had brought so near a conclusion," and so rob him of the credit of effecting Napoleon's capture; so he sent off the first lieutenant in the barge, who returned soon after six o'clock, bringing Napoleon with him. He says that on leaving the Epervier he was cheered by the ship's company as long as the barge was within hearing, and that most of the officers and men had tears in their eyes. On coming on board the Bellerophon he was received without any of the honours generally paid to persons of high rank; the guard was drawn out, but did not present arms. Maitland made the excuse that such honours are not paid in British ships before eight or after sunset. When Napoleon came on the quarter-deck he took off his hat and said to Maitland in a firm tone of voice, "I am come to throw my-

self on the protection of your Prince and laws." The Superb anchored about 10.30. Maitland went on board and told Hotham that he hoped he had done right, as he considered it of much importance to prevent Bonaparte's escape to America, and to get possession of his person. Hotham replied, "Getting hold of him on any terms would have been of the greatest consequence, but as you have entered into no conditions whatever, there cannot be a doubt that you will obtain the approbation of His Majesty's government."

Napoleon sent a message to the admiral to invite him to dinner, and in the afternoon he arrived, accompanied by Captain Senhouse, who has left an interesting account of the event in letters to his wife. Napoleon conducted himself as a royal personage, sitting at the middle of the table, and placing Hotham on his right hand. The next day, Sunday, July 16, Napoleon returned the visit on board the Superb. The ship was dressed and the yards manned, indeed all royal honours were paid him except the salute, and there was nothing to show that he was a prisoner. Senhouse says that he conducted himself with the grace and affability of a perfect gentleman. Hotham offered to lodge the Emperor on board the Superb, being more comfortable than the Bellerophon, but he declined saying that he did not wish to hurt Maitland's feelings, especially if the fact of being with him might be advantageous to his career. He left everywhere the most favourable impression. His brow was calm and without a cloud, his face exhibited conciliation, good humour, and good spirits. It was easy to understand how he had conquered the hearts of his soldiers. The party returned to the Bellerophon at two in the afternoon and immediately set sail for England. On Thursday, July 20, the Bellerophon passed the Swiftsure. Maitland went on board and said to Captain Webley, "Well, I have got him." "Got him! Got whom?" was the answer. "Why, Buonaparte, the

man that has been keeping all Europe in a ferment these last twenty years." "Is it possible?" Webley replied. "Well, you are a lucky fellow." This is an interesting illustration of English public opinion with regard to the great Emperor. On Sunday, July 23, Ushant was passed. As the day was fine, Napoleon remained upon deck a great part of the morning and cast melancholy looks at the coast of France. At eight in the evening the high land of Dartmoor appeared. Napoleon, who was almost undressed, put on his great coat and looked intently on the land. Early on July 24, the ship anchored in Torbay. Napoleon was much struck with the beauty of the scenery, and exclaimed, "What a beautiful country! It very much resembles the bay of Porto Ferrajo in Elba." Despatches immediately came to hand from Lord Keith which ordered the strictest caution in all dealings with Bonaparte. They contained, however, the human sentences, "Let him and his want for nothing; and send to me for anything Brixham cannot furnish; I will send it to you by a small vessel. You may say to Napoleon that I am under the greatest personal obligations to him for his attention to my nephew, who was taken and brought before him at Belle Alliance, and who must have died if he had not ordered a surgeon to dress him immediately and send him to a hut." While Napoleon was crossing from Rochefort to the English coast the English Cabinet was discussing the fate of their prisoner. We may, perhaps, some day learn more in detail about their deliberations, but some light is thrown upon the matter by the following letter from Liverpool to Castlereagh, dated July 21, 1815. He says: "I have this moment received your letter of the 17th inst., with the intelligence of the surrender of Buonaparte, of which I wish you joy. We are all decidedly of opinion that it would not answer to confine him in this country. Very nice legal questions might arise upon the subject, which would be particularly embarrassing. But, indepen-

dent of these conditions, you know enough of the feelings of people in this country not to doubt that he would become an object of curiosity immediately, and possibly of compassion in the course of a few months; and the very circumstance of his being here or indeed anywhere in Europe would contribute to keep up a certain degree of ferment in France. Since I wrote to you last, Lord Melville and myself have conversed with Mr. Barrow on the subject, and he decidedly recommends St. Helena as the place in the world the best calculated for the imprisonment of such a person. There is a very fine citadel there in which he might reside; the situation is particularly healthy; there is only one place in the circuit of the island where ships can anchor, and we have the power of excluding neutral vessels altogether if we should think it necessary. At such a distance and in such a place all intrigues would be impossible, and being withdrawn so far from the European world he would very soon be forgotten." Napoleon forgotten!

"To conclude, we wish that the King of France would hang or shoot Buonaparte, as the best termination of the business, but if this is impracticable, and the allies are desirous that we should have the custody of him, it is not unreasonable that we should be allowed to judge of the means by which that custody can be more effectual."

The letter from Liverpool to Castlereagh, referred to above, runs as follows: "Before I enter on other matters, I am desirous of apprising you of our sentiments respecting Buonaparte. If you should succeed in getting possession of his person, and the King of France does not feel sufficiently strong to bring him to justice as a rebel, we are ready to take upon ourselves the custody of his person, on the part of the Allied Powers; and indeed we should think it better that he should be assigned to us rather than to any other members of the Confederacy. In this case we should prefer that there were no commissioners appointed

on the part of the other powers, but that the discretion should be vested entirely in ourselves, and that we should be at liberty to fix the place of his confinement, either in Great Britain, or at Gibraltar, Malta, St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, or any other colony we might think most secure. We incline at present strongly to the opinion that the best place of custody would be at a distance from Europe, that the Cape of Good Hope or St. Helena would be the most proper station for the purpose. If, however, we are to have the severe responsibility of such a charge, it is but just that we should have the choice of a place of confinement and a complete discretion as to the means necessary to render that confinement effectual."

On July 24, Castlereagh wrote to Liverpool from Paris: "I am impatient to receive the notification of Buonaparte's arrival in England, and to be informed of the steps you have thought it advisable to adopt both towards himself and his suite, which contains two very flagrant criminals, Savary and L'Allemand . . . I forgot to mention that I believe there will be no sort of difficulty in leaving the unrestricted custody of Buonaparte's person to the British Government, under, perhaps, some engagement with the Allied Powers not to turn him loose without their consent." On the same day Lord Bathurst wrote to Wellington, enclosing a copy of Maitland's letter of the 14th, with its enclosure received that morning. He proceeds: "We have nearly determined, subject to what we may hear from Paris in answer to Lord Liverpool's letter a week ago, to send Buonaparte to St. Helena. In point of climate it is unobjectionable, and its situation will enable us to keep him from all intercourse with the world, without requiring all that severity of restraint which it would be otherwise necessary to inflict upon him. There is much reason to hope that in a place from whence we propose excluding all neutrals and with which there can be so little communication, Buonaparte's existence will soon be forgotten. It

is intended to appoint Sir Hudson Lowe as the officer attached to him. I do not believe we could have found a fitter person of his rank in the army willing to accept a situation of so much confinement, responsibility, and exclusion from society."

When the Bellerophon arrived at Torbay, the ship was surrounded by a crowd of boats, people being drawn from all quarters to see the Emperor. He came often upon deck, and showed himself at the gangway and stern windows, to gratify their curiosity. On the following day the concourse of people around the ship was greater than the day before. In the afternoon he walked for more than an hour on deck, standing frequently at the gangway, or opposite to the quarterdeck boards, so that people might see him, and whenever he observed any well-dressed women, he pulled his hat off and bowed to them. On July 26 he was taken to Plymouth, and two English vessels were anchored on each side of the Bellerophon to prevent Napoleon's escape, and to restrain shore boats and others from coming close to her. Napoleon complained of these two frigates being placed as guardships over him, and also that their boats had been firing musketry all the evening to keep the shore boats at a distance. He said, "It disturbs and distresses me, and I should be obliged to you to prevent it, if it lies in your power."

On Sunday, July 30, the crowd of boats was greater than ever. Upwards of a thousand were collected round the ship, in each of which on an average there were not fewer than eight people. The crush was so great as to render it quite impossible for the guardboats to keep them off, though a boat belonging to one of the frigates made use of very violent means to effect it; frequently running against small boats containing women with such force as nearly to upset them, and alarming the ladies extremely. The French officers were very indignant at such rude proceedings, saying, "Is this your English liberty? Were

such a thing to happen in France, the men would rise with one accord and throw that officer and his crew overboard."

On July 31, Sir Henry Bunbury came down from London, and, with Lord Keith, visited the Bellerophon at 10.30 a.m. They notified to Napoleon the decision of the government, styling him "General" Bonaparte throughout. He was to be sent to St. Helena, and to be permitted to take with him three of the higher class of those who had accompanied him from France, and twelve domestics, who were to be selected by himself, with the exception of Savary and Lallemand, who were not on any account to be permitted to go with him. The interview lasted half an hour, and the suite were much distressed, especially Savary and Lallemand, who were extremely urgent to know how they were to be disposed of, protesting most vehemently against their being given up to France, as a breach of all faith and honour.

Napoleon showed the government despatch to Maitland, and complained bitterly of being sent to St. Helena, saying, "The idea of it is perfect horror to me: to be placed for life on an island within the tropics, at an immense distance from any land, cut off from all communication with the world and everything that I hold dear in it. It is worse than Tamerlane's iron couch. I would prefer being delivered up to the Bourbons. Among other insults this is a mere bagatelle, a very secondary consideration. They style me a 'general.' They may as well call me Archbishop, for I was head of the Church as well as of the army. If they do not acknowledge me as Emperor, they ought to do so as First Consul. They have sent ambassadors to me as such, and your king in his letters styled me 'brother.' Had they confined me in the Tower of London, or one of the fortresses in England, though not what I had hoped from the generosity of the English people, I should not have so much cause of complaint; but to banish me to an island within the tropics,

they might as well have signed my death-warrant at once, as it is impossible that a man of my habit of body can live in such a climate." The transference of Napoleon from the Bellerophon to the Northumberland was obliged to be effected at sea, because a lawyer had been sent down from London with a habeas corpus, insisting that Napoleon should be delivered to appear as a witness in the Court of King's Bench. On August 4 Napoleon wrote the following protest on board the Bellerophon:—

"I hereby solemnly protest in the face of Heaven and of men against the violence done me, and against the violation of my most sacred rights in forcibly disposing of my person and of my liberty. I came on board the Bellerophon. I am not a prisoner, I am a guest of England. I came on board even at the instigation of the captain, who told me he had orders from the Government to receive me and my suite, and conduct me to England if it were agreeable to me. I presented myself with good faith to put myself under the protection of the English laws. As soon as I was on board the Bellerophon I was under the shelter of the British people. If the Government in giving orders to the captain of the Bellerophon to receive me as well as my suite only intended to lay a snare for me, it has forfeited its honour and disgraced its flag. If this act be consummated, the English will in vain boast to Europe of their integrity, their laws and their liberty. British good faith will be lost in the hospitality of the Bellerophon. I appeal to history. It will say that an enemy who for twenty years waged war against the English people came voluntarily in his misfortunes to seek an asylum under their laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and his confidence, but what return did England make for so much magnanimity? They feigned to stretch forth a friendly hand to that enemy, and when he delivered himself up in good faith, they sacrificed him."

Napoleon held a final conversation with Maitland on

the evening of August 6. He said, "Your Government has treated me with much severity, and in a very different way from what I had hoped and expected from the opinion I had formed of your countrymen. It is true I have always been the enemy of England, but I have ever been an open and declared enemy, and I paid the highest compliment that was possible for a man to do in throwing myself on the generosity of your prince. I have now to learn, however, that it is not fair to judge of the character of a people by the character of their government. They say I made no conditions. Certainly I made no conditions. How could an individual enter into terms with a nation? I wanted nothing of them but hospitality, or as the ancients would express it, air and water. My only wish was to purchase a small property in England, and end my life there in peace and tranquillity. As for you, captain, I have no cause of complaint. Your conduct to me has been that of a man of honour, but I cannot help feeling the severity of my fate in having the prospect of passing the remainder of my life on a desert island."

I will conclude by contrasting two judgments of Napoleon, one of the naval officer who did and the other of the English press who did not know him. Maitland says of him: "His manners were extremely pleasant and affable, he joined in every conversation, related numerous anecdotes, and endeavoured in every way to promote good-humour. He even admitted his attendants into great familiarity, and I saw one or two instances of their contradicting him in the most direct manner, though they generally treated him with much respect. He possessed to a wonderful degree the faculty of making a favourable impression upon those with whom he came into conversation. Lord Keith appears to have formed a very high opinion of his powers of fascination, and expressed it very emphatically to me after he had seen him. Speaking of

his wish for an interview with the Prince Regent, 'D—n that fellow,' he said, 'if he had only obtained an interview with his Royal Highness, in half an hour they would have been the best friends in England.' He appeared to have great command of temper, for though no man can have had greater trials than fell to his lot, during the time he remained on board the Bellerophon he never in my presence, or as far as I know, allowed a fretful or captious expression to escape him. Even on the day he received the notification from Sir Henry Bunbury that it was determined to send him to St. Helena, he chatted and conversed with the same cheerfulness as usual."

Let us compare with this the utterance of the *Times* newspaper on July 25 :—

"Our paper of this day will satisfy the sceptics, for such there were beginning to be, as to the capture of that bloody miscreant who has so long tortured Europe, Napoleon Buonaparte. Savages are always found to unite the greatest degree of cunning to the ferocious part of their nature. The cruelty of this person is written in characters of blood in almost every country in Europe and in the contiguous angles of Africa and Asia which he visited, and nothing can more strongly evince the *Universal* conviction of his low perfidious craft than the opinion which is beginning to get abroad that, even after his capture had been officially announced, both in France and England, he might yet have found means to escape.

"However, all doubts upon this point are at an end, by his arrival off the British coast, and if he be not now placed beyond the possibility of again outraging the peace of Europe, England will certainly never again deserve to have heroes such as those who have fought and bled at Waterloo, for this his present overthrow. The lives of the brave men who fell on that memorable day will have been absolutely thrown away by a thoughtless country. The

grand object obtained by their valour would have been prostrated, and we should have done little less than insult over their remains almost before they have ceased to bleed, but fortune seconding their undaunted efforts has put in our power to do far otherwise.

"Buonaparte's suite, as it is called, consists of upwards of forty persons, among whom are Bertrand, Savary, Lallemand, Grogau, and several women. He has been allowed to take on board carriages and horses, but admission is denied to about fifty cavalry, for whom he had the impudence to require accommodation. This wretch has really lived in the commission of every crime so long that he has lost all sight and knowledge of the difference that exists between good and evil, and hardly knows when he is doing wrong, except he be taught by proper chastisement. A creature who ought to be greeted with the gallows as soon as he lands to think of fifty horsemen! He had at first wanted to make conditions with Captain Maitland as to his treatment, but the British officer very properly declared that he must refer him upon this subject to his Government. It has been the constant trick of this villain, whenever he has got his companions into a scrape, to leave them in it, and seek his own safety by flight. In the retreat in the Moscow expedition, and at Waterloo, such was his conduct.

"The first procedure, we trust, will be a special commission or a court-martial to try him for the murder of Captain Wright. It is nonsense to say, as some have, that court-martials are instituted only to try offences committed by soldiers of the country to which they belong. It was an American court-martial that tried and shot Major André as a spy, and Buonaparte himself appointed commissions of all kinds and of all countries to try offences committed against himself."

Who was Captain Wright? Napoleon was asked the question at St. Helena, and replied that he had never

heard of him. Most readers of this work would make the same admission.

He was the captain of an English frigate presumably employed in landing royalist troops on the coast of Brittany. He was captured and imprisoned in the Temple, where one morning he was found dead. It was thought that he had committed suicide in order to avoid disclosures, but the English writers attributed his death to poison.

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CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

1812.	
June.	War between France and Russia. Napoleon's March on Moscow.
September.	Battle of Borodino. Napoleon enters Moscow.
„	The burning of Moscow.
October.	French Evacuation of Moscow. The retreat begins.
„	Malet's plot in Paris.
November.	The crossing of the Berezina.
December.	Napoleon reaches Paris.
1813.	
January.	Concordat of Fontainebleau.
February.	Convention of Kalisch (Russia and Prussia).
Feb.–March.	The War of Liberation opens.
May.	Battle of Bautzen.
May–August.	Armistice in Germany.
June.	Battles of Vittoria and the Pyrenees.
„	Treaty of Reichenbach (Russia, Prussia, and Austria).
August.	Battle of Dresden.
September.	Battle of Kulm. Treaty of Teplitz (Austria and Prussia).
October.	Battle of Leipzig.
Oct.–Nov.	Wellington crosses the Pyrenees into France.
1814.	
February.	Conference of Châtillon-sur-Seine.
March.	Treaty of Chaumont. Battle of Laon.
„	The Allies enter Paris and establish a Provisional Government.
April.	Abdication of Napoleon. Louis XVIII returns to Paris.
May.	First Peace of Paris.
September.	The Congress of Vienna meets.

1815.	
March.	Return of Napoleon. Flight of Louis XVIII.
March–June.	The Hundred Days.
June 16.	Battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras.
„ 18.	Battle of Waterloo.
„ 22.	Second Abdication of Napoleon.
July.	Second French Revolution. Return of Louis XVIII.
October.	Napoleon lands on St. Helena.
November.	Second Peace of Paris.
1821.	
May 5.	Death of Napoleon.

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